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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church, a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits, and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit, c. 6.*

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THE IDEA OF GOD IN THE UNIVERSE.

One hears it asserted repeatedly by writers of repute that the genius of Latin belief drew inspiration mainly from the idea of an imaginary ghost-land, which fancy first peopled with the disembodied spirits of the departed, and which religion afterwards made real by its many prayers and services to the dead. With this preconceived idea serving to light the way for such writers in their study of the thought-origins of this older people, the familiar phrases so often met with, such as "God on high," "the heavens above" and "the supernatural," are interpreted as proofs that ancestor-worship, which first began by a crude devotion to the souls of the ancestral dead, soon transformed itself into a fixed belief in the real existence of a land of ghosts. This gradually developing idea—witness its classic expression in the writings of the Octavian men of letters—has thus come to be regarded as the original sin committed by the early pagan Latins in their conceptions of the divine; and is reputed to have passed over with the experience of the race, as a heritage to the Christians of Latin stock, vitiating their whole line of thought, so far as the Deity is concerned, by giving it an impetus in a fanciful and mythical direction.

The influence of this idea, it is claimed, may readily be seen in the repeated efforts to make out the Deity as soul of

the sky[1]; to look upon God as not present in nature but enthroned above it in solitary majesty[2]; to regard the heavens as apart from the world;[3] until finally the highest stage of its development is reached in the conceptions of a "supernatural order" and a "God on high,"[4] twin-notions which serve to mark off and characterize the Middle Ages as the flourishing period of what has been technically called *transcendental* thought.[5]

But as the Semitic eye of the older peoples turned ever inward to the spirit, the Aryan eye, it is said, turned ever outward to the beauties of nature[6] and sought to see its God around and about it, instead of looking upwards to an imaginary deity that dwelt in majesty inaccessible beyond the stars. The result of these two counter-views, it is likewise claimed, is seen in the antipodal notions of the Deity prevalent in the Middle Ages and in the subsequent period of philosophy commonly called modern. The Schoolmen simply accentuated the Semitic development. Their God was accordingly transcendent, distant, and beyond the confines of the world. Modern thought, on the contrary, laid stress upon the Aryan point of view to such an extent that it made God actual by bringing Him into the field of phenomena and by believing Him to be an "indweller ever blest," or nothing. The God of modern thinking was characterized as *immanent*, and thus sharply distinguished from the *transcendent* God of the Schoolmen. "Transcendence" and "immanence" were in this wise set over against each other in contrast; and in immanence was recognized the ruling notion of the modern world."[7]

I.—The Modern Idea of Immanence.

"When a given symbol which represents a thought has lain for a certain length of time in the mind,"[8] says a well known author, "it undergoes a change like that which rest in a certain position gives to iron. It becomes magnetic in its relations,—it is traversed by strange forces which did not belong to it. The word, and consequently the idea it represents, is

[1] Belief in God, Schurman, p. 94. [2] Evolution and its relations to religious thought, Le conte, p. 352. [3] History of Philosophy, Weber, pp. 283-84. [4] Ibid., Ibid. [5] Ibid., Ibid. [6] Belief in God, Schurman, p. 118. [7] History of Philosophy, Weber, p. 285. [8] Oliver Wendell Holmes.

polarized." The object of the present discussion—to borrow a phrase from what has just been quoted—is to *de*polarize two ideas that have from faulty associations grown repellent of each other; to set forth an idea of God's cosmic presence which the philosophers of the day ignore, with no little violence to well-established facts of history. Incidentally, our purpose is to invite attention to a more healthy as well as a more truthful method of thinking than that afforded by many of the hypotheses now in vogue,—vague generalities as they mostly are, which at times have scarcely the merit of glittering; and in all cases lead their authors and abettors into a series of sweeping inductions which are utterly at variance with that accuracy in ascertaining facts so indispensably necessary for the real scholar.

By dint of repetition it has come to be a received matter of belief that "immanence" can have no other meaning than the rather unvarnished one of universal identification; that the idea of an immanent divinity must perforce carry with it the idea of a God who lifts up into His totality of Self the myriad fragments of nature; and who, identifying himself with what we know and see, is none other than the great All-in-all. With some the real nature of the divine Nearness is made to consist in that "Omnipresent Energy,"[1] streams of which tingle in our finger-tips while at work in a laboratory, or course through our busying brains when we are lost in the contemplation of our own reveries. With some again, it is a sort of "Cosmic Consciousness," the nature of which may be expressed in the symbolic phrase of spirit. With others, it takes on the form of an "Organized Experience,"—that supreme presentation to the consciousness of the world-spirit (Weltgeist) of all the fragmentary longings, puzzles, thoughts and aspirations of human individuals.[2] But with all alike, Pantheism is the burden their struggling intellects are endeavoring to bear, however much they may attempt to lighten it by the coining of new phrases or the invention of new formulae.

Whether expressed in terms of "Energy" or in the more idealized form of an "Absolute Unit-Experience," which is the summary and completion of all our human thoughts and

[1] The Conception of God. Berkeley, Cal., 1895. Le Conte. [2] Ibid, Royce.

desires in an all-inclusive and conscious Self, the idea of identification, either partial or complete, is the central thought of all such systems and makes them one and all but varying phases of Pantheism, in idea, if not in word and letter.[1] The gift of phrasing has not the power to make old ideas new. It may please the sense aesthetic, as is its wont, but the intellect still stares fixedly at the old thought endeavoring to strut in borrowed plumage and soon strips it nude of all the encumbrance in order to examine it dispassionately.

The gift of phrasing, however, possesses the charm of making the minds of many stagnant. We are so apt to be contented with a neat turn of phrase which some reputed scholar has hit upon that his word becomes practically final. Some sweeping generalization takes such hold of our mental selves that to express an idea outside the consecrated formula approaches sacrilege. Nay, the very phrase of some scholarly thinker who happens to stand well with his generation is made an admitted starting-point,—a guide to any number of conclusions, with never so much as a single thought concerning the critical value of the point of departure.

An apt illustration of the idea which we are endeavoring to convey is seen in the absolute polarizing of thought due to the introduction into scientific parlance of this simple word, "immanence." Hegel made it the turning point of modern thought[2] and looked upon it as the redeeming feature in the ideas of God that were circulating in his day and long previous to it.[3] But men soon forgot that Hegel simply crystallized in this phrase his own subjective views, as well as those of Spinoza, concerning the nature of God's presence in the universe,

[1] Pantheism is a very comprehensive term. Etymology as well as history points to "identification" as its essential feature. Latterly, however, attempts have been made to restrict the meaning of the word to the conception of the deity as "blind force," in order to justify the use of the term "Theism" in all views that eliminate "blind force" and substitute therefore the phrase "conscious energy." But this is verbal jugglery, as the root-idea in Pantheism is identification (of whatever sort) of the human with the divine.

[2] See "Hist. of Phil.," Weber, p. 285.

[3] In Greek philosophy, especially pre-Socratic period; in Neo-Platonism; in Scotus Erigena; in the Arabic, Mussulman and Jewish Schools of Spain; and in Boehme and Bruno. To Spinoza is due the employment of the word "immanence" in the modern sense of "intransitive substance," that is, a substance so shut within itself that it is powerless to pass out (transire) into anything secondary to, and at the same time really distinct from, its plenitude of self (Ethices P. I., Prop. XVIII.). Thus Pantheism is bound up with the denial of "secondary causes," so far as by the latter is implied "a series of substantial entities distinct in nature from God." There is a marked similarity between Spinoza's ideas and phraseology on the one hand and those of Erigena on the other, which would make it appear that Spinoza borrowed much from Erigena.

and owing to this oversight the phrase "divine immanence"[1] was limited in meaning and its content diminished, when there was no logical ground for such restriction. To admit the divinity as actually at work in the progress of natural events thus became tantamount to admitting that God pervaded all reality; and to do so, He had of necessity to be in very truth the reality pervaded. In this wise the term "immanence" became the exclusive property of the Pantheist and his classic expression for the idea of God.

Nor was this all. Immanence, it was only natural to suppose, needed a counter-term to bring out the full force of its significance. Transcendence readily suggested itself as fitted for this verbal service and soon began to play a part not in accord with its historical meaning. Once these two terms were arbitrarily conceived as opposite poles of thought, the idea of transcendence, which historically was not opposed to immanence, soon came to be regarded as the direct exclusion of it. Logic thus attempted dictatorship over history. If immanence meant the nearness of the divine, transcendence was made to imply its remoteness. If immanence meant a God in the world, transcendence was construed as signifying a Deity that had nothing to do with the universe, save in some reputedly rare cases of miraculous interference. Utterly oblivious of the fact that the so-called transcendent philosophy of the Middle Ages could and did admit an idea of God's cosmic presence, without subscribing to the notion of immanence as modern writers crudely conceive it,[2] the Pantheist faced about and treated the

[1] The Schoolmen employed the adjective "immanent" in opposition to "transient," and these terms occur only in connection with "actions." Thus actions were styled immanent (in, manere) when they took place within the acting subject and were completed there, as thought, volition, etc. Transient actions were those which perfected some other object besides the agent. They were conceived (trans, ire) as terminating in something distinct from the acting subject, as heating, propulsion, etc. (See St. Thomas, Summa, Pars I., Quaest. XIV., art. 2, corpus articuli. Ibid. XVIII., art. III. See Index to Summa. under heading "Actio.") Thus the Schoolmen did not use the term "Immanence" to characterize God's presence in the world. The usual expressions are: omnipræsentia, de existentia Dei in rebus, de immensitate, de ubiquitate, etc. But from non-use of term you cannot conclude that they did not entertain an idea of God's universal presence and activity throughout nature. (See St. Thomas, First Thirteen Questions of Summa).

[2] "Um die oben dargelegte Ansicht noch mit diesen Begriffen zu bezeichnen, so würde ich sagen: Immanenz und Transcendenz sind nicht sich ausschliessende Gegensätse," says Paulsen, Einleitung in die Philosophie, p. 254, 3d edition. He makes the statement, however, with an especial view to proving that "some" transcendence is compatible with Pantheistic ideas of immanence, because God is endless, and visible matter finite (p. 264). He bears out the statement we make that the transcendent and immanent modes of conceiving God in the world are not irreconcilable opposites, even in Pantheism. We go further and say: God is conceivable as utterly distinct from Nature, though present in it.

above mentioned philosophy, together with the traditional Christian notions which it exposed, as so many outgrowths of former low beliefs in ancestor-worship. The Christian ideas concerning the divine relations to this organic universe of ours, were in consequence never so much as read, it would seem, but were simply made to fall in line with the writers' unwarranted preconceptions, until they took on the grotesque form of a God conceived to be outside the world, "starting it," as Carlyle once said with little sense and less scholarship, "starting it and watching it go."

What wonder then, in the light of the foregoing, that the whole detail of pagan belief in a far-off divinity was fastened upon Latin Christian thinking? Prayer was made to imply a capricious divine being that could interfere miraculously with the given order. Heaven became a sort of new Jerusalem dazzling with golden streets and the sheen of angels' wings. What other idea could this "supernatural" imply, it was argued, than that of an imaginary sphere of spirit-activity displayed above and beyond the world, which was in consequence nought else than a brilliant piece of mechanism set operating from the beginning, but inert, lifeless and stagnant ever since, because not pulsating with the throb and threnody of universal being.[1]

II.—The Christian Idea of Immanence.

The question naturally arises at this juncture: Was such really the case? Is it true that up to the eighteenth century God was successively regarded as man-like and king-like, not present in nature but brooding above it in some far-off sphere?[2] Is it a fact, sustained by research, that the Latin Christian writings contain no idea of the divinity as immanent? That to the Greeks, pagan as well as Christian, we must look for an exposition of God's intimate sharing in the works of men and things?[3] Such ideas are broached, and in these modern days. For this reason as well as on account of the unquestioning credence reposed in such unproven statements, we have deemed it "not without fruit," as Bacon would say, to indulge in a little

[1] See History of Philosophy, Weber, p. 284; Belief in God, Schurman, p. 143; Evolution and its relations to religious thought, Le Conte, pp. 351–356.

[2] Le Conte, Op. cit., p. 352. [3] Ibid., p. 353.

research where so many find it more congenial, even if less scholarly, to speculate; our purpose being not so much to convince any doubting Thomases, as to invite the attention of certain careless Gallios to the groundlessness of their assertions.

Setting aside the Greek Fathers whose formation, we are told, tallies exactly with the requirements of the modern theist's hypothesis, we confine ourselves to the Latin writers who are represented in general as at variance with the Greeks respecting the nature of God's relations to the universe. How this contention, unwarranted as it assuredly is, could have gained such firm hold on the minds of writers who have an abundant literature at hand, indexed and arranged so as to afford every facility for examination, we are nonplussed to explain. We thought that the present school of history established in Germany, had shattered the reliability of the so-called "philosopher-historians," so prevalent in the past two centuries. Perhaps it is a case of "persistence of type." Perhaps it is a case of consulting second-hand sources. We do not know. Yet we are sure of one fact at least: that no writer who harbors the view of an utter divergence between Greek and Latin Christians respecting the question of God's cosmic presence, could ever have consulted thoroughly a single original document.

Tertullian speaks out his mind very plainly. "All place is in God,[1] though He himself is not in place. For He is the *last line* of the universe." In the same book, he represents God as "holding the earth in his hand as a nest—God, whose throne is heaven and whose footstool earth." Lest perchance his readers understand him as humanizing God, he is very careful to note in passing that "from Adam to the prophets, God has condescended to our human ways of regarding him,"[2] knowing that we would not allow our purer thought to suffer defilement by the use of imaginative simile.

Minucius Felix[3] makes use of the sun, whose rays pass through the foulest pool untarnished, as an illustration of God's substantial presence everywhere. Hilary[4] declares God unlike to man in this that when "present in one place, He is

[1] Adversus Praxeam, Cap. XVI. [2] Ibid. XVI. et XXIII. [3] Octavius, Cap. XXXII.
[4] Tract. in Psalm. CXXIV. (towards end.) Ibid. in Psalm. CXXXV. Also: De Trinitate Lib. II (towards end.)

not absent from any other." Cassiodorius[1] admirably discerns between the purely human associations of our phrases and the higher service of meaning into which they are pressed, when he avers that it is not proper to say of God that He "sits" or "stands," as the unsophisticated imagine, since the Deity is enclosed by no spacial relations. Nay, he continues,[2] the phrases of the psalmist "approach unto God" and "recede from God," are but figures of speech which he expressly designates as "*syncrisis.*" Augustine is none the less explicit. "The Lord God," he says,[3] "whole and entire, both fills and contains in an ineffable manner all things that He made, souls and bodies, high things and low, celestial and terrestrial, living and inorganic." Ambrose[4] speaks of God as "opening the heavens with his hand and closing the universe within his fist"—an allusion to Isaiah on whose words he is commenting.

Peter Damian[5] thus contributes his quota of expression to the common belief. "Because God remains *within* all, yet above all and beyond all, He is superior to everything." Prosper[6] asks pointedly "whither may the wicked go to avoid that spirit of God with whose substantial presence and power all place is filled?" Isidore[7] explains the nature of God's indwelling in things so as to leave no doubt as to the drift of his meaning, when he declares: "The Divine Immensity is such that we understand God as *within* things, but not included; as *without* things, though not excluded. He is within things in such a way as to *contain* all; He is without, because he *shuts in* (concludit) all things whatsoever." Alcuin,[8] the Benedictine monk who left his monastery in Britain at the request of Charlemagne to assume the direction of the royal princes in their studies at the Palatine Academy, and who thus became the first of the Schoolmen, wrote and taught his royal charges that "God is everywhere wholly present, ruling all nature constantly and consistently." The same may be said of Peter the Lombard, the first Doctor

[1] Exposit. in Psalter. Psalm. LXXXI., Vers. I.
[2] In Psal. CXVIII, vers. 150.
[3] Lib. de fide ad Petrum. Cap. III., paragr. 3. Consult also: De Diversis Quaest., Lib. LXXXIII., Quaest. XX.; Epist. CXII., cap. XII.; Epist. LVII. passim.
[4] In Isaiam. XL., 12. Also: Lib. I., De Fide, cap. 4; Lib de Dignit. condit humanae, passim; Epist. CXII., cap. 12.
[5] Opusc, XXXVI., cap. VI. [6] S. Prosper Aquit. In Psalm. CXXXVIII., vers. 7.
[7] Sent. Lib. I., cap. II. [8] Opusc. VI., De Animae ratione, paragr. VIII.

in Theology; and the same stands out as if in illuminated text, in the works of that host of masters and disciples which formed the universities of the Middle-Age period in history. Last and best of all, St. Thomas Aquinas,[1] the prince of the Schoolmen, gave the fullest coördinate expression to the traditional idea in his Summa Theologica, which clasps in a vast synthesis the bits of wisdom scattered through the ages.

What is more relevant still, the Latin writers repudiate the counter-view in the most emphatic manner, and even go the length of explaining why some of the Christian writers have been misapprehended as believers in a God who resides solely beyond the heavens. Augustine[2] says that some Christian writers laid stress upon the conception of a God on high, in order to prevent any gross understanding of their phrases and in order to check the undue influence of the imagination. Gregory the Great[3] seems to be addressing the modern theists in a reproving way when he denies with not a little irony that: "Deus coelo excelsior est et super stellarum vertices sublimatur." Peter Damian[4] reiterates the same denial and scoffs at the counter charge.

Two thoughts more and our brief research is finished. What was this ubiquity of God? How account for the anthropomorphism, apparently at least, in some of the above citations?

As to the nature of God's presence in things, it was conceived as *substantial* and not as a mere diffusion of divine power.[5] The Infinite is without bounds; a shoreless sea of being. To borrow the words of Tertullian[6]: "Before things were created God was unto Himself world, place, and all reality." After the universe of realities sprang into existence, we may say with St. Jerome: "How can anything be separated from God when all things are in Him?"[7] The presence of the Divine in the world is the presence of an Infinite Actuality in

[1] Summa Theol. Pars I., Quaest. VIII., per omnes articulos.
[2] Epist. LVII.
[3] Moral. Lib. XVI., in cap. XXII., Job, cap. VIII. See also Ibid. Lib. II., cap. VIII.
[4] Opusc. XXXVI., cap. VI.
[5] The stereotyped phrase of the Schoolmen was the following: "Deus ubique est per essentiam, præsentiam et potentiam." The phrase originated with Peter the Lombard, and the three modes indicated by it do not occur in the writings of any one Father. It is an indication of the synthetic spirit of the Middle Ages.
[6] In Lib. advers. Praxeam. Cap. XVI.
[7] Ad Isaiam, LXVI.

which all things live and move and have their being; it is the presence of an all-creating, all-moving and all-guiding Reality, which furnishes every shred of activity, every atom of being to the millions of finite objects throughout the whole expanse of Nature. What is Nature after all but another name for a universal effect whose cause is God? The modern critics, if they wish to say anything pertinent, will have to abandon their flings at the idea of a non-resident God, unless they would perforce be set down as playing with ideas of their own creation and invention.

As to the human language of the Fathers while speaking of God, is it not more scholarly to ask the Fathers themselves what ideas they really meant to convey, than to plunge into a general disapprobation of their figures of speech without taking the pains to examine them? Augustine,[1] Tertullian,[2] and Cassiodorius[3] explain themselves clearly. St. Thomas Aquinas[4] devotes ten articles to a very minute philological study on the use of human words in treatises concerning the Divine. Yet men who profess, by their claim to scholarship, to hear the evidence of the case in every point at issue, proceed to judge when they have not tried, to conclude when they have not assured themselves of the premises.

The traces of this sublime idea are also discernible in our own most vigorous English tongue. Drummond of Hawthornden has enshrined the patristic and scholastic idea in imperishable verse, the very terms of which breathe the language of the Schools. He says most pertinently:[5]

> "Whole and entire, all in thyself thou art,
> *All-where diffused, yet of this all no part;*
> For Infinite, in making this fair frame,
> Great without quantity, in all thou came,
> And filling all, how can thy state admit
> Or place or substance to be void of it?"

[1] Epist. LXVII.

[2] Adversus Praxeam, cap. XXIII. "The custom of looking to heaven while we pray is God's condescension to human nature, for which Christ furnished the example." For this see: Adv. Praxeam, cap. XVI.

[3] Exposit. in Psalm LXXXI, vers. 1.

[4] Summa Pars I, Quaest, XIII., per omnes articulos.

[5] William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1659), the friend of "rare" Ben Jonson. He was accused of "smelling too much of the schools." (See the poetical works of Wm. Drummond. Poem entitled "Flowers of Sion," p. 178. Reeves & Turner, London, 1890). It is interesting to note how close this poem comes to being a transcript of any scholastic writer of repute. One recognizes familiar phrases in: "light of all beauty" (claritas pulchri); "still owly-eyed" (sicut oculus vespertilionis ad solem); "shadows of shadows" (species sunt specula, ex quibus res videmus); all of which were current phrases with the Schoolmen.

"Efficient, exemplary, final good,
Of thine own self, but only understood!
Light is thy curtain, thou art light of light,
An ever-waking eye still shining bright!
In-looking all, exempt of passive power
And change, in change since death's pale shade doth lower.
All times to thee are one, that which hath run
And that which is not brought yet by the sun,
To thee are present, who dost always see
In present act, what past is, or to be.
O King! whose greatness none can comprehend,
Whose boundless goodness doth to all extend,
Light of all beauty, ocean without ground,
That standing flowest giving dost abound:
Rich palace and *indweller ever blest,*
Never not working, ever yet in rest!
What *wit* cannot conceive, *words* say of thee,
Here, where, as in a mirror we but see
Shadows of shadows, atoms of thy might,
Still owly-eyed when staring on thy light."

Nor is Shakespeare without the pale of this self-same influence. He shows in more than one passage the hold which this uplifting thought had over his master-intellect, as when he says:

"Nor is there that Deity in my nature
Of being here and everywhere."[1]

Ever since the dawn of the Christian era the nature of God's relations to the universe was much mooted among the Latins. To deny it, is to sin against the light. An ever-broadening idea of immanence that glimmered faint and dim at first, only to reach full splendor in the synthetic period of the thirteenth century, is most clearly discernible. Its vigorous growth crushes out the counter-views of Arians, Gnostics, Valentinians and Manicheans, hostile as was the environment which these blockers of the way to progress created for Christian truth. Most surprising indeed, in view of the fact that the so-called modern theists make them out believers in an extra-mundane God, is their emphatic repudiation of just such doctrines as are ascribed to them by present-day writers, who do not seem to realize that looking at facts through the glass of hypothesis is like looking at objects round about us through the reverse-end of a telescope,—we simply misuse the instrument and are deluded by a false perspective.

[1] Twelfth Night, Act. V., Scene I. See also: All's well that end well; Act II., Scene II. (first lines) for an allusion to miracles.

III.—Scientific Versus Popular Theism.

In perusing many modern writers, it would indeed seem that the chief sources offered for a scholarly evidence of Christian belief were popular notions, the verses of poets and the works of painters. Men do not seem to realize that the imagination must ever be at odds with the purer thoughts which it is man's prerogative to conceive. They forget the sage remark of Macaulay that "though the logician and the theologian may have their set formulae, the people will be content with nothing short of pictures." The commons were never scientific and saw but in their own humble way what the sages beheld from the higher standpoints of reason and philosophy. What do our popular scientific manuals of the day imply but the recognition of this divergence and necessity? To drop this patent fact from view and to look upon the refined phrase of the poet or the grosser simile of the unsophisticated as affording a real insight into the nature of Christian thought at any period of its history, would be like looking upon the statue of liberty as an indication of how crudely authropomorphic is the American idea of popular sovereignty. To pay exclusive attention to poets, painters and devout plebeians as though in them alone was the embodiment of Christian belief to be found and rediscovered, is unworthy of the scholar, whose office it is to portray the thought of Christian theologians and not the devotions of the Christian peoples. Dante himself,[1] poet as he was, stands sponsor for the truth of what we are here expressing and St. Thomas Aquinas is honeycombed with references to the same distinction.[2]

Studying the patristic and scholastic writings with this idea in mind; interpreting them, not in the false light shed by theories of our own weaving, but in the light of the idea of God which is found in their pages, we are soon disenchanted and disillusioned of many absurdities attributed to the Fathers and the Schoolmen by theorists who write, but never read.

We are told that heaven, hell and purgatory, are relics of the once prevalent notion of a God on high. We look into the Fathers or the Schoolmen, as the case may be, and find that

[1] See note 4, p. 22 of present discussion.

[2] See St. Thomas. Summa Theol., P. I., Quaest. I., Art. 9, 10; Quaest. XIII, per omnes articulos; especially Art. II, ad 2.

with them, heaven, hell and purgatory are states or conditions of existence rather than places.[1] Thus a little research explodes one point at least in a very grand hypothesis. Heaven does not imply mere belief in a place whither the spirits of the departed are ingenuously supposed to repair; and so the theory falls with the failure to make good its assertion. The theorists, here at least, find not "a local habitation," but a name.

We are told, and by men reputedly scholars too, that "the supernatural" is a "God on high," "non-resident in nature."

We turn to the Christian theologian for answer, no matter at what period he may have written, only to be smiled at for our ingenuousness. "The supernatural," he calmly tells us "is the conception of an order of truths above those of reason[2] and the conception of a self-existent activity superior to that of mind and matter as these latter display themselves ordinarily in the field of nature."[3] It does not mean that God is absent from the works of the universe; it simply denotes that the intellect of man, which is at best but a spectator of the panorama of the finite, has not the last word to say concerning the origin of things terrestrial, their government and their destiny.[4] Man may formulate the laws of phenomena, he may detect in them a certain steadiness of purpose and fixity of occurrence; he may reduce them all to categories as minute as those of Aristotle were general; he may even synthesize all known facts into some one sweeping generalization, but he has left out the fact of facts—the Infinite. He is simply reckoning without his host.

Nature with them, is the realization of God's purpose. Supernature is the realization of God's purpose likewise, but on a grander scale. Nature and supernature are two orders, each of truth and activity, built the one upon the other. The pur-

[1] St. Augustine. De Spiritu et Anima, cap. LXV.—De Fide et Symbolo, cap.VI.—De Symbolo, cap. XII.—Sermo ad Catech., cap. VII., wherein he calls the anthropomorphic view a "sacrilegium."—Lib Soliloq. Animae ad Deum. cap. XXI. "Ista Lux fulget ubi *Locus* non capit." For additional literature and references, see St. Thomas, Summa, P. III, Quaest LVII, Art. 4, 5, 6, Origen says most relevantly: "Nonne ubique est Deus? Non ipse dixit: coelum et terram ipse repleo? Quo ergo abiit Rebecca? Ego puto, quod non de loco ad locum abierit, sed de vita ad vitam. (Homil. XII in Genes.)

[2] S. Augustine. Soliloq., Lib. I, cap V, N. 11. S. Thomas. Com pend. Theologiae ad fratrem Reginaldum, cap. II. Summa. P. I., Quaest. I, art V.

[3] St. Thomas. Qq. Dispp. De potentia, Q. VI, De Miraculis, Art. II. Contra Gent., capp. X, CI.

[4] See the various queries concerning miracles proposed in "Philosophy of Theism" by Prof. Campbell Fraser, pp. 216–240.

poses of each seem divergent and contradictory, but this is only apparent, and because "knowledge is of things we see." In the mind of the Infinite, they dovetail into one plan, which is neither nature, nor supernature, but an idea superior to either as such, to wit—the providential ruling of all things unto a known end, an end not always known to man, it is true, when looking out upon the spectacular play of things, but yet always present to God who is the Be-all and the End-all of existence.[1]

These thoughts naturally call to mind the idea of miracles,—an idea fully inwrought upon the very fibre of Christian thinking. What do modern writers understand of miracles? They have become a fashionable by-word with many, who hail with delight the Christian conception of miracles as proof evident of their theory of ghost-origins. Miracles it is said are the occasional and intermittent exercise of the divine activity in a world which God abandoned to its fate at the beginning and which He now astounds and amuses alike betimes by perpetrating some childish pranks upon it. It is the idea, brought to mature development, of the ghost-ancestors, returned to torment those of their fellows who are still dwelling in the bodily tenements of clay.

Thus men describe miracles in these days of enlightenment. One is often tempted to wonder with Nordau if we are not in reality a race of degenerates, showing an incapacity to appreciate the thoughts of past ages except through travesty, misrepresentation and ridicule. Yet we ask the question plain, simple and unvarnished by any theory: What is the traditional conception of miracles? That of a God beyond the stars causing commotion among us human atoms here in the cosmos? That of caprice and arbitrary intervention? An upsetting of the rigid laws of nature? Assuredly none of these, even though any one of the above caricatures would pass with many for a fair delineation.

The fact of the matter is as simple as it is philosophical. Schooled to regard God as everywhere present and as everywhere displaying activity, the Christian thinkers of the past did not look upon the regular course of nature as the final gauge and measure of the divine omnipotence. God had not called into

[1] St. Thomas, P. I., Quaest. CX, Art. IV.; Cap. I. n. IV. III Contra Gent., Cap. C. St. Augustine, Contra Faustum. Lib. XXVI, cap. III.

requisition the fulness of His power, neither had He exhausted all His infinite store of energy in the production of this world of mind and sense. There were truths in His infinite mind and powers in His infinite will, which exceeded and exceed the constituted course of nature.[1] He could reveal himself in the intellectual order, in the moral as well as in the physical, by calling into action this surplusage of power. In doing so He but *added* to the ordinary efficiency of nature, He but acted above and beyond the range of nature's common agencies. Did He act *against* nature and *counter* to its laws? Those who indulge such a view of the supernatural show not even a rudimentary acquaintance with the Christian writings. The Fathers and the Schoolmen freely admitted that a miracle was ostensibly contrary to the natural *course* of events. But they denied it to be against nature or constituted order; and the reason of this denial was the higher scope and meaning which they understood the word nature to convey. Order in Nature was the plan preconceived by God intelligently and executed according to his will.[2] The ordinary operations of things and the display of superhuman powers as well, were thus looked at from the point of view of the *divine* and not of the natural.

The result was a transformation, a higher philosophical standpoint, a higher idea in which antinomies and contradictions—the results of narrower views—vanished and ceased to be perplexing. Such was their conception of the supernatural. Where others looked to Nature as the point whence to judge all and settle all definitively, St. Augustine and St. Thomas looked to Nature's God—to that idea of the Self-Existent which they had reached in their long and ardent endeavors after knowledge. Yet are they blackened and maligned as

[1] St. Thomas, P. I., Quaest. CV., art. VIII.;—Prima Secundae, Quaest. CXIII., art. X.; in Summa Theologica; Contra Gent., Lib. III., cap. CI.; Qq. Disp., De potentia, Quaest. VI., De Miraculis, art. I. et III.

[2] St. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXI., cap. VIII., N. 2.; Contra Faustum. Lib. XXVI., cap. III.—St. Thomas, L. III., Contra Gent., cap. CI. "It so happens that one and the same cause is betimes known and unknown to many: for this reason, at sight of the same effect, some are stricken with wonder while others are not. The astronomer does not find any reason for wonder on seeing the sun eclipsed, because he is acquainted with its cause. The unsophisticated man, however, is dumbfounded because of his ignorance. Thus what is wonderful to one is not passing strange to another. Whence it is that a miracle is an event whose cause is hidden to learned and unlearned alike, not to this one or that one alone, but to all. Whence," he says, (ibid. cap. X.) "those things are reputed miraculous "quae divinitus fiunt praeter ordinem communiter servatum in rebus."

fanciful believers in the merely *preternatural,* by those who are either unwilling or unable to separate the chaff from the wheat, popular customs from philosophical persuasions. They judge others by their own standards and ridicule where they should investigate.

It will thus be seen that the ruling idea of all Christian thinkers is the idea of a God infinite in power and everywhere at work, in the growing blade of grass and in the thinking intellect of man as well. By this talisman is their thought discovered; in this all-pervading fundamental idea are their works to be rightly judged. Creation is working with God and God, too, is working *unaided.* The supernatural and the natural are but parts of one plan, and neither crosses the other. Nature is not all. It is sunk in the realization of a vaster scheme. It was this one paramount philosophical idea that made them look upon God as creating each human soul from no preëxistent; that made the Incarnation so stupendously divine and yet so sweetly human; that made love glimmer out through toils and disappointments as the earnest that the visible is not the end; that made of divine grace, communicated to the human soul, an extra supply of power to reach ideals, from which frail nature shrank away, but to which it was encouraged to rise by constant additions to its strength dealt out by a bounteous Providence to toiling coadjutors. In fine, it was this idea that made them look upon the myriad objects of the universe as so many servants of a Higher Power, acting in accord with divinely preconceived ideals which were not so far off after all.[1]

It was this idea which made the supernatural order so really *near* and *within* their very selves; which called forth from St. Thomas the pertinent reflection that the First Cause has more to do with our actions and effects than we have ourselves. Yet it is this very idea of God concerning which those who write books on "the old" as against "the new" Christianity betray the most unpardonable ignorance and publish the most arrant nonsense. The absurdities detected in the idea of a supernatural order arise, one and all, from the simple fact that pains

[1] Those familiar with Scholastic Philosophy will readily recognize in the preceding an elaboration of the notion commonly designated as "potentia obedientialis."

are never taken to ascertain the real philosophical conception that underlies it. Prayers and miracles are indeed most gruesome relicts of by-gone superstition to him who would essay to judge them from the sole view-point of nature's unchanging laws, instead of looking upon nature itself as but the visible aspect of a far larger divine economy. Such men see the mote in the Christian's eye, splendidly unconscious all the while of the beam within their own.

IV.—Theistic and Pantheistic Immanence Compared Historically.

From the matters discussed thus far it is easily seen how wide of facts speculation along general lines must ever be doomed to fall. So far from a vague and idle persuasion of a ghost-ancestor seated high in the heavens, we find the Latins no less than the Greeks bent upon holding fast to the notions of an Emmanuel,—a God within us and about us, the all-pervading Reality in Whom we live and move and have our being.

Failure to keep this fact in mind has led many to write of Christian Theism as though it taught of necessity the withholding of God from His creatures. For no other reason do men who write nowadays place their strictures upon the time-honored view of God's cosmic presence. Pluming itself on an utterly false and extravagant presentation of the historical Christian doctrine, Pantheism, or, as some would have it, "Cosmic Theism," has thus been enabled to claim the monopoly of having again reasserted the divine prerogative of omnipresence, as though forsooth all sight of it had been lost in the lapsing centuries.[1] The steady flow of Christian thought from the very beginning of its course away from the open sea of Pantheism, which was ever ready to receive its regenerating waters, into a higher sea of reality where the same level was always maintained, without increase, change or diminution, has in consequence been falsely interpreted as an opposition to the idea of God's existence in things,—to the idea of His dwelling

[1] It is confidently asserted by many that "Cosmic Theism" runs counter to the received Christian view. This is true, so far as God be made one with nature, but it is false to say that Christian doctrine ever opposed "a Cosmic Deity," in the sense that God was everywhere and nowhere in particular.

among the mountain crags as well as beyond the confines of space. What warrant this portrayal of Christian belief may have, the long line of writers we have cited abundantly determines. Not to the idea of God's abiding in nature, but to the identification of God and Nature has thinking Christianity ever set itself in radical opposition. A false association of ideas lies at the root of the whole matter—the asserted inclusion of identity in all notions of immanence. It is as though we were constrained logically to conceive the immanent God after the fashion of Shelley's cloud,—

> "I pass through the pores of the ocean and shores;
> I change, but I cannot die."

Reading their own prepossessions into the facts of history and reading them out again with an uncritical assurance that passes for established truth, Pantheists laid hold of a single characteristic of the divine, namely presence in the universe, and gave to it an interpretation and meaning peculiarly as well as distinctively their own. Rather than forswear a God in nature for one above the stars, which they thought to be the only alternative, they erected into a cardinal dogma the idea that God and Nature were but differing phases of the one, sole reality; somewhat as the real landscape fringing a river's bank merges at times into that mirrored counterpart of itself painted by light upon the river's bosom. For them, God is the soul of the universe, call Him Energy, Consciousness or Experience if you will; and the stars of the firmament, the flowers of the field, together with the whole panorama of the visible, are but a corporeal frame in which the divinity finds embodiment. At first these ideas were inelegantly expressed, and their indignity a shock to Christian instinct. Latterly, however they have been presented under the symbols of Christian language, until to-day the Pantheist expresses his unchristian thought in the phrase of Scripture, so as to deceive, as a matter of fact, even the elect.[1] No more pertinent proof

[1] See New York *Sun*, March 27, 1897. Editorial page. Letter of Prof. Goldwin Smith, entitled "Christianity on Rollers." "The rollers employed," he says, "in moving Christianity from its ancient site to one more on a level with modern ideas, are the old names of orthodoxy used in a new and non-natural sense." This so called "spiritual theology" he qualifies as "a system of factitious rationalization" whose tendency is not only to falsify our views of particular facts and doctrines but to subvert our general allegiance to truth. If mistrust of it is infidelity, he expresses himself as willing to be called an infidel.

could be afforded of the purely vicarious relations which *words* bear to *ideas*.[1]

What with the poetry that springs unbidden from such a view; the awe-inspiring formula of "the godliness of man" and the tangible novelty of the ideas thus made to shine resplendent in the consecrated terms of Christian usage, no wonder many feel a thrill of pleasure at this attempt to put new wine in old bottles. And when science itself is made to point an index finger in the same direction with its theory of "the conservation of Energy," the Pantheist may say that this little life of ours is rounded with a sleep, but who will be inclined to take umbrage, since this sleep itself, his poet tells us, is in the bosom of the Infinite? Claiming all that is good in Christian theism and speaking out his ideas in the borrowed formulae of the Gospels, the Pantheist appears to the unitiated as the bearer of a new evangel. Yet the judicious are forced to grieve that the Pantheist, or Theist as he is now called,[2] should attempt to blacken the ever old, yet ever new, Christian views in order to brighten his own; that he should attempt to strengthen an unchristian position by bearing false witness against historical Christianity.[3]

In marked contrast with the above idea which makes God one with the psychic and physical energies of nature and which conceives these latter as a sort of self-sundering of the divine,[4] is the Christian conception of immanence. True, the Fathers and the Schoolmen do not use the word "immanence" to express the presence of the divine in the great and small alike, atoms as well as stars. Yet is it no less true that they fully recognized and asserted all that the modern term conveys, save the single feature of regarding the Infinite as an eternally evolving substance which passes through the stages of the unconscious until it finally emerges in man as spirit. This they looked upon as the attempted harmony of discords and the bundling of contradictions into a substantial whole. They did

[1] St. Thomas, Summa Theol., P. I., Q. XIII, art. 2, ad 2.

[2] Not to quarrel about words, we insist that the so-called "modern theism" is only a trifle more refined form of "Pantheism," which latter is its proper designation. See Prof. Howison's remarks to the same effect, in "The Conception of God." Berkeley, Cal., 1897, p. 63.

[3] Early as well as later Christianity is elaborately portrayed as setting forth the notion of a miracle-working God, who does not act in or on the world save in cases of portent or mystery.

[4] Le Conte, The Conception of God. Berkeley, Cal., 1895.

not stop at the laws of phenomena and attempt to make the Infinite really and truly the theatre of all the changes we know and see, realize and live among. They went further; and back of all phenomena, in every reality, acting through every change, they admitted a higher and nobler reality than any or all of these, in an Infinite God who was a sea of actuality,[1] by which all nature was surrounded and in which all nature lay immersed as a hugh sponge might in the waters of the ocean.[2] The fibre of the sponge and its activities were not the waters of the sea, nor was the sea itself bounded by the limits of the sponge that floated free within it.

This rather homely illustration—it is Augustine's—lifts the human mind out of itself in its struggle to grasp the sublimity of the thought which the African philosopher is comtemplating. Of course the simile is as faulty as it is homely,—since every metaphor limps and since the imagination always acts as a disturbant on our purer line of vision. Hence it is that Augustine's bold attempt to make picturesque the noble conception which his intellect had reached, only as the last point in a series of hard reasonings, leaves much to be desired in his illustration. It does not explain how the natural make-up of the sponge could have been produced and yet form no part of the reality in which it was immersed—which is the cardinal point at issue. Yet a perfect analogy was impossible and none was more aware of this than the Bishop of Hippo.[3] For how could any simile drawn from his experience of finite nature prove to be an adequate representation of the Infinite, which could at most but have left very meagre and only proportional vestiges of itself in the field of natural phenomena? It is the sublimity of the thought he is travailing to express and not the faultiness of the expression which should claim attention.[4]

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[1] "Pelagus essentiae et esse." S. Greg. Nazian. Orat. in Natalitia.

[2] St. Augustine. Confessionum Lib. VII., cap. 5. "Sic creaturam tuam finitam Te infinito plenam putabam, et dicebam: ecce Deus, et ecce quae creavit Deus."

[3] St. Augustine is always conscious of the poverty of expression resident in the words he has to employ. De Trinitate, Lib. V, cap. I.

[4] Dante thus expresses the relations between popular language and the purer scientific thought:

"Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno,
Perrochè solo da sensato apprende
Clò che fa poscia d'inteletto degno.
Per questo la Scrittura condescende
A vostra facultate, e piede e mano.
Attribuisce a Dio, *ed altro intende.*"

(Paradiso. Canto IV). See also St. Thomas. In Lib. de Div. Nominibus, cap. I. Lect. II. post.

This overpowering conception which would immerse the millions of whirring worlds in a sea of infinite reality which permeates, surrounds and out-girts them all, yet without making Itself one and the same with them in nature, is the heritage of truly *Christian* theism. It affords us the highest synthetic notion conceivable and furnishes us with an idea of the world-ground so complete and satisfactory that we too are immersed in its depths. It gives to our ideas of conservation, whether of energy or of substance, the most stable substrate—the constancy of the Infinite. It explains the phenomena of the universe both psychic and physical, not by synthesizing contradictions in some vague and imaginary world-stuff, in which we vainly look for the God whose existence is demanded by reason as the necessity of necessities; but by acknowledging the eternally permanent and stable as the cause and continuous ground of the passing and the changeful. We need not fear to outgrow it in the progress of science or in the aberrations of philosophy, for no higher idea are we capable to formulate; and as for substitutes, the so-called modern Theism is empty in comparison. It has lapsed back into Pantheism and left us where philosophy began, in the mystic "divine nothingness" of the East.[1] Which is better—to stammer out a sublime conception as Augustine did, or babble in a Christian terminology that is contradictory in every phrase? To delude ourselves into thinking that we of these latter days rediscovered God in nature, when Augustine placed nature in God centuries since,[2] in a nobler and sublimer view than any that are now current as the coin of the New Jerusalem, with the old mint-marks, it is true, but with a ring that is anything but genuine?

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med. Dante simply poetizes on what St. Thomas here discusses in scientific language. St. Thomas says: "Scriptura nobis condescendens tradidit nobis quae supra nos sunt secundum modum nostrum." All of which goes to prove that the so-called "anthropomorphism" is a bugbear.

[1] Theories brought forward to illustrate the difference between Aryan and Semitic development still leave the "Modern Theist" face to face with the fact that his views are only a more elaborate restatement of the notions entertained of old by the Bouddhists. Not granting to Christian doctrine the character of a sharp inroad upon the pagan views prevailing at the time but viewing it without warrant as a sort of fantastic outgrowth and development of Paganism, men refuse to accept the real advance which Christianity made over all the Greek and Graeco-Latin philosophies.

[2] "Non fecit atque abiit; sed de illo, in illo sunt." St. Augustine, Comment. ad Act., XVII.; Ibid. De Div. Quaest., Q. LXXXIII, cap. XX.

And after all, those who speak an evolutionary language should bear in mind that this idea of God's immanence took centuries of Christian thinking to find the fulness of expression. It is fragmentary in Augustine and only reached synthetic development in the intellect of St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century. Growing with the growth of the Christian principle, it met with a hostile environment in the Arabic philosophies of the Middle Ages[1]—pantheistic and eastern as they were in tone and character—until out of that environment it came as the noblest product of Christian thought, with none of the indignities of the old pagan notions suffered to mar it; yet withal, embodying what was best and assured of permanence in the older philosophies. Can we say that we have advanced, when nowadays our notions of the divine indwelling come to us in the wrappages of the mystic East, in a more refined pantheistic formula, it may be, but pantheistic still? Is Spinoza, starting with a faulty definition of substance and still more faulty interpretation of it, to bid us turn back to Ionian points of view on the grounds that thus alone we are really advancing?[2] Has Christianity outlived Pantheism in the thirteenth century to return to it in the nineteenth? So it would seem to one who read, between the lines, any volume of Modern Theism, in which Christianity is placed "on rollers" indeed and made to stand for no fixed idea save a cluster of ethical postulates which are themselves without any adamantine substrate.

V.—Theistic and Pantheistic Immanence Compared Critically.

Once realized that Christianty harbors none of the absurdities that are now masquerading as expositions of its doctrine, pure and undefiled, but on the contrary sets forth an idea of the divine indwelling that is perfectly in accord with the needs of science and only at variance with an arbitrary and insufficient "Agnostic Logic,"[3] men will begin the more readily

[1] See Stöckl. Philosophie des Mittelalters.

[2] See The Conception of God, Berkeley, Cal. 1895. Criticism of Prof. Howison.

[3] The variance implied here is a question of Epistemology. The Agnostic who refuses to accord any real worth to ideas that are not expressible in empirical terms, i. e. in the language of experience, is forced from sheer consistency with this dogmatic and arbitrary position, to deny all value to such notions as do not square with his *theory* of knowledge.

to appreciate the unknown God whom they have unconsciously been seeking to find *in* the universe, where indeed He is, but not in the *manner* they would have Him therein present.

The principle of evolution and the theory of the conservation of energy seem to have set many agog, and needlessly. For the reason that the energy of the universe is regarded as constant and unchanging in sum, many have stopped here and claimed to have found their God. He is Order; Developing Purpose; Realizing Idea; Omnipresent Energy.[1] He is subtilely diffused throughout Nature—an impersonality with some, a sort of half-spirit, half-matter, with others.

Why not bear "the banner with that strange device," Excelsior? Why not follow in the steps of Augustine who passed through the purgatory of Pantheism[2] into the fulness of the vision recorded above? to whom the flowers of the field, as he so well puts it, made answer repeatedly: *Quaere super nos.*[3] Evolution, even if established, would not be ultimate. For if evolution explains all, who or what accounts for Evolution?[4] If energy is conserved, what will account for its conservation? What, in other words, conserves the conservation of it? There must be something more ultimate beneath and back of all phenomena than any entity identical with, and unfolding itself through them; else reason is an arch-deceiver. To say that the world, that energy is eternal, is but to make a statement. Be it, for argument's sake, admitted eternal. The question of its origin is still unanswered. It is simply balked. Reason does not conceive the eternal as a mere shifting series of events in some great changing whole. For as the parts, so the whole must be, shifting, potential, unfixed and unstable. The sphere of the changeful and the variable cannot be regarded, under other aspects, as the sphere of the fixed and the enduring, unless we would play with words and banter with ideas. We conceive a firm ground, a constant substrate for all change; and if that ground and substrate be itself a changeling, be itself capable of change and

[1] One would be inclined to think on reading some modern authors that the idea of God as "omnipresent energy" was something new and novel. Yet it was the doctrine of the Neo-Platonist Plotinus in the third century.

[2] St. Augustine. Confess. Lib. VII., cap. XXI.; Lib. VI. cap. V.

[3] Ibid. Lib. Soliloq. Animae ad Deum., cap. XXI.

[4] See "La physique moderne." Ernest Naville, p. 272-276. Paris, 1883.

the very theatre of it, we simply end where we began and our question is not answered, but dialectically parried.[1]

To have recourse to the hypothesis of an *infinite regress of causes* as explanatory of the universe, is but to push the difficulty further back, not to solve it. To declare matter eternal and self-existent, because it is resolvable scientifically into some one intransmutable element, means simply that the materialist and the theist are forced to the same conclusion—the admission of a self-existent Eternal. They differ only in determining the *nature* of that eternal. They divide, not on a question of fact, but of conception. Yet when the materialist assigns matter as the sole repository of the eternal, and thus makes matter the very receptacle of my notions of infinity, necessity, eternity and order, he asks me to believe something far more incredible and mysterious than I ask of him when, using his own arguments, I conclude to the idea of an infinite and intelligent God. Reason demands more than an hypothesis before it will assent to the absurdity of ascribing excessively great attributes to excessively small entities; and certainly the matter of this universe is made to play too large a rôle entirely when raised to the dignity of being a substitute for God. The sheer absurdity of such a substitution is a proof of God's existence. For who would get rid of Him, is forced to admit His attributes; who would deny His existence, must force upon Matter a set of attributes out of keeping with the known nature and capacity of the latter; repugnant alike to reason and experience.

It is no answer to say that we have outgrown the distinction between the Absolute and the Relative, so insuperable a difficulty to the early immaturities of Greek thought. Men have done so only at the price of glaring contradiction. The barriers between these two have only apparently been levelled, and even then, on the authority of some dogmatic theory of knowledge, as though forsooth the epistemology of any thinker could set at rest forever the worth and value of our ideas as to what is purely illusionary or what really trustworthy in their reports of the outer world; as though the mind of any man—presumption apart—could so play the rôle of chief high censor

[1] See St. Thomas. Summa Theol., P. I., Quaest. II., art 3, ad 2.

of human ideas as to determine finally their worthlessness or their merit.[1] Men have simply avoided Charybdis to strike upon Scylla. The proof of it lies in the fact that Pantheists are forced into a poetic mysticism, into the dreamiest of reasonings, to justify their foremost tenets and safeguard their initial admissions.

After all, what is the Christian idea of God but a step further, an insight deeper than that of the scientist, who deals with the immediate and not the ultimate reality? There never was but one truly ultimate, truly final idea of the origin of the universe, and that is the idea of creation.[2] All other theories leave the point at issue untouched and are half-hearted substitutes. Nay more: Pantheism itself makes for the idea of an Absolute more ultimate than the one it has stopped at and admitted. Spinoza's "natura naturans" and "natura naturata" point to the higher Christian conclusion, even though Spinoza distorts this idea by making the Absolute and the Relative nothing more than differing phases of the one cosmic substance.[3] What is Paulsen's admission of "*some* transcendence"[4] even in Pantheism but the unwitting rational suggestion of the Christian idea of God as divine indweller? What is Hegel's dialectic[5] attempt to identify the real and the ideal but a halting step in the same direction? Is it not better to admit an idea which reason constantly thrusts before our vision, even though there be much of the mysterious and unfathomable in it, than to swerve reason into a half-way conclusion beset with contradictions? In fine, if the very desideratum which Pantheism is supposed to furnish—namely, a God in the world and a world in God—is found in Christianity more nobly and more rationally expressed, is it not more in accord with reason to admit the latter, though somewhat mysterious, than to fall back upon the former and be entrapped in contradiction? To make immanence possible only in the Pantheistic sense of the term is to shut one's eyes to the deeper

[1] The thought seems lost with many modern writers, upon whom the mantle of Hume has fallen, that *to deny perceived facts on the authority of an idea or theory,* with which the facts do not happen to square, is *apriorism* pure and simple.

[2] On this point see: "Theism." Prof. Flint, Appendix, p. 390. Chapter entitled: Creation and Evolution.

[3] Ethices, p. I, De Deo.

[4] Einleitung in die philosophie, p. 264. 3d edition.

[5] Die Wissenschaft der Logik., § 43–45.

insights of reason and to open them solely to the more tangible suggestions of sense.

By way of conclusion to what has been discussed in the preceding, several pertinent remarks are in order. Like Pantheism, Christianity admits God in the world and the world in God. Unlike Pantheism, however, it does not make us frail mortals of God's own substance, nor God of ours, but leaves Him superior to us by the whole length and breadth, if we may so speak, of His infinity. Yet does He surround us all, men and things alike, support us all, empower us all to act; and without His aid would we one and all, earth and heaven, cease to be, as darkness follows when the sun withdraws its light. To say that this conception of God by Catholic theologians, from the earliest days, is anthropomorphic (that is to say, a development or outgrowth of "the savage view which led primitive man to interpret extraordinary natural events as the expressions of the will of beings like himself")[1] is to argue one's self ignorant of patristic and scholastic philosophy. It is to confess that we have read the writings of the Fathers and the Schoolmen, not with our eyes, but with our theories;[2] and theorists, as is well known, are remarkable especially in this, that they quote in detail those facts and writings only which bear out their contention and treat with disdain whatever has the hardihood to lie foul of their subjective dogmatism. Theirs is the Carlylean way of starting with a theory and finding all virtue and glory in the men who seem to embody it and all baseness and stupidity in those who happen to oppose.[3]

So noble in fact is the Christian idea of God and His relations to the universe, which Augustine reached and Thomas Aquinas synthetically developed, that neither in direct terms of nature, much less in those of man, can one express it. This thought was so clearly imbedded in the minds of Christian writers that they made use of the verb—"balbutire"[4]—to

[1] This definition of anthropomorphism is from: "Spirit of Modern Philosophy," Royce, p. 345.

[2] Many seem to forget that to study any field of knowledge, hypothesis in mind, is fatal to *facts*. It almost invariably happens that we pick out what suits us and neglect an equally strong series of facts which are counter to our project. Hypothesis is *tentative* and not final and judicative.

[3] See "History of Our Own Times," Justin McCarthy, Vol. I., p. 538.

[4] Greg. Magn. Moral 5, cap. 26 et 29. "At nos *balbutiendo*, ut possumus, excelsa Dei resonamus."

impress the consciousness of their hearers with a full sense of their meaning, lest perchance it should escape them. Their idea of God—to use the parlance of the day—was neither cosmic nor anthropic; nor yet, as some have latterly tried to express it synthetically, anthropocentric.[1] By which is meant that the Christian thinker takes neither the universe, nor man, nor even man and nature together, upon which to ground and rest his conception of the Godhead. His was and is an idea more synthetic, without being less real, than any or all of these. The Christian thinker from the earliest times, although scant credit is given him for it, was well aware that to express God as containing nature, so crudely as to be in point of fact an identity of container and contained, would make of God, as some one has put it, we think, not irreverently, "a veritable huckster-shop of cosmic bric-a-brac." They were further aware that to express Him from the point of view of the human solely would still fall far short of the concept we have of the Divinity; while to attempt a union of the universe and man as a fit embodiment for the idea of God, was too crude a synthesis and too unphilosophical a method for their adoption.

The idea upon which the Fathers and the Schoolmen were content to rest their theistic fabric, was that of *existence,* of *reality,* of *perfection,* of *actuality.*[2] All things exist and by their very existence are *perfections* as compared with the non-existent. Nature was for them, so to speak, a series of terraces that rose tier on tier and bank on bank in orderly progression. The mineral was existent as were also the flowers of the field—the phenomena of life as well as of human intelligence. From the mineral order upward to that of reasoning man there was a gradual widening out and an ever-enlarging synthesis, which brought and held together in unified wholes what lay scattered, piecemeal and fragmentary in the lower order of Nature. Plant life possessed the physical and chemical forces of the elements in a higher way and

[1] The "cosmic" idea of God expresses the Deity in terms of the universe; the "anthropic" in terms of man; the "anthropocentric" in terms of both. The first is the idea of Prof. Le Conte and the third of Prof. Schurmann. The second is falsely ascribed to Christian thinkers in general, especially the earlier. For a clear exposition of the insufficiency of mere Theism, see "Theism," Prof. Flint, p. 302; also "Anti-Theistic Theories," by the same author, p. 441.

[2] For this and subsequent development, see Catholic University BULLETIN, Jaunary, 1897, p. 25-30. Also: St. Thomas, Summa Theol., Quaest. IV., art. 2, ad 3; Ibid. art.I, ad 3.

under a higher species of unity than that afforded by the elements themselves singly and separately. The beasts of the field were organic wholes, comprising within themselves the phenomena of plant life,—nutrition, growth and reproduction,—as well as the very nature of the elements themselves, all grouped together under a superior and unifying principle, of which these several phenomena were servants and not masters.[1] Man was but an epitome of nature, embracing in his corporeal frame the mineral, vegetal, sentient and cognoscent, harmonized and made mutually inter-active through the root-principle of them all—his rational soul—which bolted all together, vivifying, directing and controlling as one substantial whole what were of themselves disintegrating and scattering unities.[2] Nature in him lost its several individualities and sunk them in the higher individuality of his human person.[3] E pluribus unum! Such was man as they read him in his cosmic kinship.

Advancing a step higher they detected the application and presence of the same principle in man's reasoning soul. What was it, after all, but a substantial existence capable of exercising all the functions of the vegetal, sentient, cognoscent and intellective life?[4] What was it if not a sort of existential mirror in whose existence the myriad objects of nature were reflected, united and conjoined in the highest synthesis—that of thought-life? Small wonder then indeed that they lost themselves in the contemplation of the wonderful suggestiveness inherent in the idea of *existence!* The higher forms of existence contained the virtues of the lower in an ever-widening, all-embracing and all-unifying synthesis. Existence embraced all within its enfolding grasp. Existence was the perfection of all things whatsoever, soul and body, substance and accident, crystalline form and immaterial thought.[5]

From these philosophical reflections to the idea of God was

[1] The Schoolmen expressed this idea in the oft-repeated phrase: "Formæ superiores continent in se virtutes formarum inferiorum."

[2] "Anima est forma corporis." "Anima dat esse corpori." "Anima est forma *substantialis,* corporis." See St. Thomas, Summa Theol., Quaest. LXXVI., art. 3.

[3] St. Thomas, Summa Theol., P. 1., Q. XCI., art. 1, corpus. Prima Sec., Quaest. XVII., art. VIII., ad 2.

[4] With the Schoolmen, the soul discharged all the functions of growth, development and sensation as well as those of thought. But all these functions were performed by the soul as *the one* principle acting through *many.* See St. Thomas, Loc cit.

[5] See St. Thomas. Summa Theol. P. I., Quest. IV., art. I.

but a single pass. They simply denied of Him what was proper to the coarseness of the finite—*potentiality;* that capacity for change, increase and development which sets its seal on all things human and natural and marks them for its own.[1] The result was the idea of a completely actual, undeveloping and undevelopable, all-perfect existence which comprised virtually and eminently and unitedly, in the simplest and most thorough manner, the fulness of reality.[2] What was fragmentary in Nature, in Him was one in an eminent way; what was scattered broadcast over Creation, in Him was undivided; what was semi-perfect in things, in Him was without flaw or imperfection.[3] He was a Whole without parts, nay, a Whole incapable of parts and a part of no other Whole. The infinite synthesis of all perfection, and not of all perfections, as the Pantheist would have it, God was a pure existence, uncompounded and uncombinable.[4] Where the Pantheist pluralized, they singularized; where he employed addition of reality on reality to reach his God, they had recourse to subtraction.[5] They subtracted what was imperfect and what was due to the finite character of natural existences;[6] and the residual idea left over after such subtraction of imperfections was an all-perfect existence[7]—the Christian's God. The God of our fathers and forbears, Personal Intelligent Willing, and All-powerful, not conceived as mannish or as cosmic, but as the United Container of all the *existential perfection* found in man and nature, which they attributed to Him *proportionally*[8] and not from crude *analogy,* as those who never take the pains to read a Catholic theologian persist in asserting.

[1] St. Thomas, Contra Gent., Lib. I., cap. XLIII., No. 4. In Iob, cap. IV., Lect. III. Summa Theol., Quaest. IV., art. I.

[2] St. Thomas, Summa Theol., Quaest. IV., art. II. In Lib. I. Sent., Dist. III., Q. 1., art. 3.

[3] Summa Theol., p. I., Quaest. XIII., art. 12, corpus articuli. Ibid., Quaest. IV., art. 2. corpus. Ibid., Quaest. CIII., c.

[4] Summa Theol., p. I., Quaest III., art. III., ad 2. Ibid., Quaest. III., art. 7 et 8.

[5] St. Thomas. Contra Gent., Lib. I., cap. XIV.; In Lib. I. Sent. Dist. III., Q. I., art. 3, Augustine. Enarr. in Psal. LXXXV., No. 12.

[6] St. Thomas: Quaest. Dispp., De Malo, Q. V., art. 1 ad 4. Augustine, In Ioannis Evang. cap. III., Tract. XIII., No. 5.

[7] St. Thomas. Summa Theol., P. I., Q. IV., art 2, corpus. Ibid., Contra Gentil., Lib. I. cap. XXVI.

[8] This distinction is of the utmost importance in the present connection. "Analogy" usually calls up to consciousness something crude and very primitive. True, the Schoolmen use the word "analogy," but it is the analogy of *proportion between existence;* not any proneness to look upon God as fitly typified by the human. (See Catholic University BULLETIN, January, 1897, p. 25.) In the same way, their *analogical* arguments for the existence of God were, more strictly, *teleological,* as we use the term to-day. Finality

Naturally this idea is needful of a more ample treatment than it is either our desire or intention, in an already lengthy disquisition, to furnish. Our object at present is simply to show how they reached this noblest conception of God as well as to dissipate the idea that they were grossly anthropomorphic in so doing. We hope to discuss the question more extensively at some future date when treating of creation, where the scientific worth of what is here historically and critically proven will be touched upon more directly.

What reflection, pray, upon ancestors and their departed spirits, could so dilate the latter as to make them one full and boundless actuality, filling every nook in space and the immeasurable beyond it? Such a wild speculation presents more difficulties than it explains. It could only be fostered in the minds of those "who set out with a mission to expound some theory as to a race or tendency, and who are therefore pledged beforehand to bend all the *facts* of the physical, the political and the moral world to the duty of bearing witness for them and proclaiming the truth of their message to all mankind."[1] The eyes of such are jaundiced. The real hues of facts are delicate and need a clearer vision.

The redeeming feature of the thought advocated in the foregoing, is the fact that it refuses to take the decision of science as a final arbiter of how we should conceive God to be. Science deals professedly with the phenomena of the universe such as we immediately know and come in contact with the latter. Beyond this, it is out of bounds. What has science to do with something that lies entirely beyond its province? If in our reasonings we are forced to the admission of a Self-Existent,[2] which is not a fact of sense but one of intellect, shall we proceed to judge it from the standpoint of the scientist who deals only with phenomena and not with the Self-Existent? This would be an egregious fault of method unworthy of a mind schooled to a philosophic temper. Of course we cannot imagine, or as Spencer would prefer to say, *visualize*

was not with them a mere analogy drown from the productive works of art and applied to the works of nature, as is commonly asserted; but the idea of a real and objective adaptation of part to part. It is absurd to judge them by the lettered phrase with no attempt to decipher their terminology. See St. Thomas, Summa Theol., P.I., Q. XIV., art. 5.

[1] History of Our Own Times, Justin McCarthy, Vol. I., p. 532.

[2] See Herbert Spencer. First Principles, p. 37.

this supreme conception. What matters it that we cannot? The question of its truth and worth does not depend upon its insufficient picturesqueness to satisfy a mind of positivistic or agnostic bias; rather is it dependent upon a question of logic and method, namely: Are we to transfer the characteristics of the finite into the Infinite and appreciate the latter from the sole standpoint of the former? If nature tells one story to sense and another to intellect, must we gainsay reason by forcing upon the Infinite the whole burdensome detail of finite and changeful entities? Where Pantheists rush in, we as philosophers fear to tread. You cannot judge God by the human; nor make the Infinite fall in line with the natural and thus hamper it by finite and mortal interdicts. To do so, is to reckon without your host. The problem is not the same.

Men have constructed an imaginary Christianity in their own minds. They have associated it with all that is crude and unscientific, until it has grown to be for them a modern Nazareth out of which no good can come. They forget, however, that the old answer is still most pertinent. Can any good come out of Nazareth? *Come* and *see!* What is needed is a little more research into Christian documents and a little less indulgence in airy hypotheses.

VI—Philosophic Retrospect.

The characteristic of the philosophy which this last half of the nineteenth century is engaged in developing is mainly one of *interpretation.*[1] In obedience to that peculiar law of action and reaction—so clear to the historian's eye—by which human thought is forever swinging with a pendulum-like regularity from the consideration of the outer world of matter to the inner world of ideas, only to return again to the former, the mind of man is once more preoccupied with the problems of the material and physical universe. Checked for a while in their almost exclusive dominion over human thought by the many and varied attempts at philosophizing which mark the first half of this closing century, the natural sciences are now struggling more than ever to reassert their claims for primacy, as well as to impose their methods upon each and all of the

[1] Windelband. Hist. of Phil., final chapter.

branches of human knowledge. The philosophy of the day would have science supreme. It would reserve for itself the secondary office of merely binding into sheaves whatever science has succeeded in reaping. In consequence of which ambition, we have nowadays a varied and ingenious presentation of old truths without the introduction of any positively new principles to give them setting. Democritus is made "to talk up to date;" and what with the clearness of sense-impressions, the ease of grasping fresh and striking similes drawn by advancing science from the very bosom of nature; what with the practical sense of profit and utility to be derived from knowing nature's ways and from bending her to our purpose, Democritus is vouchsafed a favorable hearing; and the mechanical way of looking at the universe receives a fresh impulse and a new lease on intellectual life. To give empirical expression to the whole range of truth, is the ambition of philosophy in these latter days. The physical is supreme. The natural and the mechanical have come to be regarded as the sole tessera by which the lesson of universal nature may be read aright. To the physical, as to an all-determining standard, intellect and will are made to bow in deference. Witness Herbert Spencer's attempt to reduce facts of whatever order to the sole phenomenon of mechanical motion; and the translation by Ribot of the entire psychic life into terms of purely physical experience.

Reactionary forces, it is needless to say, are and have been in the field. The German philosophy of this century, notably the first half, tried to draw attention to the neglect of the higher series of phenomena exhibited in the mental life; and in this wise set itself firmly against the merely materialistic points of view. But its overstrained Idealism and its overdrawn pantheistic Realism only served to drive the human mind back again into the mechanical way of thinking, as being clearer, more satisfactory and more secure.

To remove the barriers that divide psychic from material phenomena, thus became the order of the day in science. The symphony of the universe, as some one has happily put it, is being played backwards and the dominant note throughout is the physical. Matters have gradually sifted down to the relations of the higher orders to the lower—how far the former are vassal

to the latter—how far the psychology of mind may be studied in the light and under the guidance of the ancillary science of physiology. The theories of evolution with their main idea of development have been the most available points of leverage for the accomplishment of this philosophico-scientific purpose.

It was only to be expected in this present drift of scientific endeavor towards *empiricizing the psychic data* that the ideas of God and the divine relations to the universe should be swept into the general current of mechanical interpretation; and it was only to be expected likewise that in such a large and levelling scheme, sight would be lost of many established facts, which have been either ill-portrayed or brushed aside altogether in the interest of a one-sided hypothesis. *Chi troppo abbraccia, nulla stringe.*

Not unlike the efforts of the alchemist grown grey over alembic and crucible in his search after that elusive prime matter by the aid of which, Midas-like, he hoped to turn all things he touched into gold, the present attempt to make all the ideas of which we are in possession, undergo an arbitrary transformation, has resulted quite naturally in extravagance. The compression has been too great; and the elasticity inherent in all facts to regain the state which they originally possessed before undue intellectual compression disturbed them, is at last being seriously noted and appreciated. To condense the known universe into some one great and all-embracing formula, to bring it under one all-comprehensive category, has proven futile. The tenor of facts is such that they refuse to enter the abstract repositories conceived for them and, as a consequence, they are made, by forced interpretations, to suit requirements.

The present discussion offers an instance in point. The Greeks happened to come within the lines of certain hypotheses and were treated with all due deference. The Latins, who did not happen to enjoy the same good fate, were forthwith prejudged unfavorably. Given these two ideas,—the Latins as ancestor-worshippers, the Greeks as believers in a God actually present in nature,—and it is easy matter to write a book. No library is needed. The Latins *must* not and *could* not, even when Christians, have entertained any other ideas than

those which *hypothesis* demands they should have held. A stray phrase here or an inexact expression there is seized upon, and, as Renan would say: "Messieurs, voilà un fait accompli."

This is not as it should be. Accuracy is the badge of scholarship; and that sort of overpowering inspiration which makes a mole-hill of facts assume the proportions of a mountain; that supreme contentedness with half a truth which makes unskilled workmen of us all; and that vain desire to catch the whole world of facts in some vague, general web of our own weaving, mark off the counterfeit scholar from the genuine, as rant marks off the village actor from the trained tragedian.

We have not exhausted the truth when we have invented some formula to which a series of facts may be reduced or when we have found some unitary heading under which they may be comprised. It has been the experience of history that nature's books are best kept under the system of double-entry, —the natural and the spiritual. And in an age that despises the categories of Aristotle as enslavishment of mind, it is supremely inconsistent of men to build again what they profess to have torn down, relentlessly and forever; to fall prostrate before "the idols of the theatre" after abandoning "the idols of the tribe."

EDMUND T. SHANAHAN.

THE SCIENCE OF BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOME RECENT BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

The science of Bibliography—taking the word in a broad sense—is the science of books considered under all aspects. To use the definition of the Century Dictionary, it "treats of books, their materials, authors, typography, editions, dates, subjects, classification, history."

This science is divided into three parts—*bibliography* strictly so-called, *bibliology* and as the French and Germans say, *bibliotechnie* or *bibliothéconomie*. To the first falls the study of the contents of books; the second confines itself to their material make-up, and the third takes in such questions as catalogueing, classification and arrangement. In this paper we wish to discuss a few points in the first alone, suggested by some recent works on biliography.

Bibliography is general when it concerns books on all sciences; special, when confined to books of a certain character, on a certain science, a part of a science or a single question; universal, when it extends in a way to embrace books published everywhere; local or particular when restricted to books of a country, a city, an institution or an individual; integral (for lack of a better word) when including books published at all epochs; partial when confined to the works of a period—as, for example, a bibliography of incunabula.

Nowadays bibliography is the handmaid of all sciences. No serious work can be undertaken without a knowledge of the bibliography, or, as the Germans say, the *literatur* of the question under discussion. A bibliography scientifically made should indicate the origin, development and actual condition of the study of a question and the instruments that may be advantageously employed or the lack of such; it should bring to notice the points of view from which a question has been

studied and it might easily offer suggestions on points yet untouched.

Were an accurate knowledge of the bibliography always insisted upon, manifold good effects would follow. Books which are mere repetitions of what has been said before might not be written; the tiresome rehearsal of old errors found even in the works of many a professor might be avoided, and students completing their courses might be better able to use libraries—an ability not always accompanying the graduation diploma.

Hence an education can hardly be considered as complete without some knowledge of the science of bibliography. William Frederick Poole said in 1893 "that the study of bibliography and of the scientific methods of using books should have an assured place in the university curriculum[1] * * * that all who go forth should have such an intelligent and practical knowledge of books as will aid them in their studies through life." At the International Bibliographical Congress held in Brussels in August, 1897, the writer spoke in favor of the suggestion, and it was unanimously, even enthusiastically, adopted.

The first step to be made in undertaking any scientific study should be to determine whether or not a bibliography has been made. For this purpose a bibliography of bibliographies is of great assistance. It may be general like the work of Léon Vallée, or local and particular as that of Ottino and Fumagalli. Catalogues placed at the disposition of readers and students in libraries are likewise useful, such as the List of Bibliographical Works in the reading room of the British Museum or the Catalogue of Bibliographies of Special Subjects in the Boston Public Library. Finally, the student will find serviceable those publications which keep a current record of new bibliographies, such as are found in Germany, France and America. To name but one—the Institute of Bibliography of Brussels intends to publish as an annex to its Bulletin, a *Bibliographia bibliographica,* devoted exclusively to special bibliographies.

[1] In University Library and University Curriculum.

Even where there are bibliographies, few scientific students will find them complete enough or sufficiently exact to suit their peculiar needs. The bibliography of many sciences is still greatly neglected. Hence the practical necessity that a student make his own, or, at least, shape those which exist, to suit his particular demands.

In doing this he will find such works as the following to be of considerable service: catalogues of libraries, lists of incunabula and rare books, encyclopedias, collections of reviews, especially critical and biblographical; general and special histories of literature, bibliographies of countries, provinces, cities; of universities, academies, religious orders, etc. Then again, valuable hints are found in the prefaces, in the text, in footnotes of works of all kinds—as well in those of the sixteenth century, as of Thomas Stapleton and Bellarmine—as in those of the nineteenth, when this science is so much more in honor. However, it should be remarked that the list of works consulted which we find so often in books, is not a scientific bibliography. It does not profess to be exhaustive, indicating merely the sources which the author used. Much less so are the lists of collectors, amateurs, merchants, since the aim of scientific bibliography is never sought in them.

In making a bibliography, any one of many methods may be employed: ideological, chronological, alphabetical. The work may be merely descriptive or critical. The circumstances in which the scholar works will suggest which method or what combination of methods is best suited to his purpose.

These thoughts, developed possibly at too great length, were suggested by some recent works on bibliography to which we wish to call attention. Before passing on to them we might mention as true models of order and criticism, the prologue of Conrad de Sumenhart in his *Septipertitum opus de Contractibus*,[1] a work of the fifteenth century, and the *Notes bibliographiques* of Kurth's *Origines de la civilisation moderne.*

[1] The charming prologue deserves to be better known. As the work is rare, we reproduce a lengthy extract which shows the character of the entire prologue admirably:

Benignum et plenum ingenui pudoris est fateri per quos profeceris, obnoxii autem profecto animi et infelicis ingenii est, malle furto deprehendi quam mutuum reddere. Hac igitur aliisque tribus ex causis eorum nomina in hujus operis exordio memorabor qui in materia contractuum scripseunt, in quorum labores pro mea aliorumque utilitate atque

I. The *Manuel de Bibliographie historique* of M. Langlois appeared last year.[1] The author correctly believes that bibliographical literature is still far from complete, though it is certainly abundant.

A reliable bibliography of bibliographies is still wanting. To make it, it would be necessary to get a bibliography of local bibliographies in every country, one which would be at once descriptive, analytical and critical. Something of the kind is seen in the section *Bibliografia* in the Bibliotheca bibliographica Italica of Ottino and Fumagalli. Furthermore, a theoretical and practical manual of general bibliography whose

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profectu introivi, quibus gratias habeo, quia ex eorum sententiis usque eo profeci quo ad praesentis operis compilationem perveni. . . . . Ex quibus qui sequuntur fuerunt, scilicet:

Doctor irrefragabilis Alexander de Ales in tertia parte summae, quaest. 36 et 66.—Doctor solemnis Hainricus gandensis, in diversis quaestionibus quodlibetorum suorum, nominatim in quodlibeto primo, quaestione 39 et sequentibus, et quodlibeto octavo quaestione 24, et quodlibeto sexto quaestione 22.—Sanctus etiam Thomas, secunda secundae quaestione 77 per quatuor articulos, et quaestione 78 per quatuor articulos. Item in epistola quadam ad lectorem Florentinum missa, et in quodlibetis, quodlibeto secundo articulo decimo, quodlibeto tertio articulo 19—Richardus etiam de media villa, in quarto dist. 15 articulo quinto quaestione quinta, et sexta—Præterea doctor subtilis Scotus paululum diffusius quam supra memorati multum subtiliter de contractibus disseruit in quarto dist. 15 q. 2.—Petrus de palude in tertio, dist. 37; Iohannes neapolitanus in quodlibetis suis. Ceteri denique in scriptis suis circa magistrum in tertio libro nonnulla scripserunt de contractibus. Sed hi omnes pauca quidem, ut puta vel de una tantum specie contractus, vel, si de pluribus, tamen transitorie atque raptim, nec tanta, quanta dici poterat imo quanta necessitas exigit, scripserunt, nec ab re; queniam circa sententiarum libros eis desudantibus, aliarum tantarum rerum majestas eis occurrens emersit, ut vix pro illis eorum suffecerit ætas atque studium.

Ob quod et post illos Gregorius de Arimino, Heinricus de Hoyta, Heinricus de Hassia, Iohannes de Ripa, ordinis minorum; Iohannes de Gersona cancellarius parisiensis; Sanctus etiam Berhnardinus, atque Iohannes Nyder, speciales super hac materia tractatulos ediderunt: considerantes forsan quod contractuum materia imo vorago foret quasi mare magnum et spaciosum manibus, in quo reptilia quorum non est numerus, non indignum esset super ea specialem facere indaginem. Iusuper utriusque juris textus in his titulis qui ad materiam cantractuum reprobandorum vel approbandorum aut defensandorum, quatenus ad forum animae et theologicum attinet, aliquid utilitatis confere videbantur diligenter consideravi, unacum lecturis quorumdam dominorum juristarum desuper; nominatim in canonico jure domini Panormitani, in variis titulis tertii libri decretalium et in quint libro in titulo de usuris, simul et in quadam ejus disputatione quae incipit Augerio. Similiter et repetitionem domini Laurentii de Ridol, super c. consuilusti, de usuris. Et in civili jure aliquando lecturam Domini Pauli de Castro, aliquando Bartholi et Baldi, accedente saepe super iisdem textibus atque scriptis cum dominis juriisperitis collatione.

Summistas etiam et dominorum jurisperitorum de contractibus tractatulos aliquos et nonnullorum super talibus praestita consilia quorum aliqui satis utiliter atque particulariter scripserunt, videre curavi, atque vidi, in hoc nostros imitatus magistros, quoniam et ipsi tam jura quam summas jurium saepe conspexerunt.

Testantur illud Alexandri de Ales et Hichardi de media villa juribus plurimum referta opera, ac Sancti Thomæ et Scoti super quarto libro Scripta: quamquam nostri magistri suo more eorum ex quibus hauserunt vel profecerunt soliti fuerint recticere nomina. Raymundi Summam atque Hostiensis viderunt, et tamen vix ultra illud semel invenies Raymundum ab Alexandro commemoratum, quod ponitur in quarta parte summae q. 115 in fine. Forsan autem eo permoti fuerunt quum (ut jura inquiunt) omnia ea nostra facimus quibus auctoritatem impartimur.

[1] *Manuel de Bibliographie historique* par Ch. V. Langlois, chargé de cours à la faculté des lettres de Paris. Paris: Hachette, 1896. 1 vol. in 12.

ST. BASIL'S SEMINARY LIBRARY

purpose it would be to expose general notions and to give correct information is still lacking, as are also manuals of bibliographies of special sciences, such as those of history, of law, of medicine.

The work in question aims to give us a manual of bibliography of historical sciences. There will be two parts—the first devoted to bibliographical instruments, the second to the organization and instruments of historical studies in different countries. Only the first part has yet appeared. It contains two books; the first, Elements of General Bibliography, is introductory. It is divided into three chapters: Bibliography of Bibliographies, Universal Bibliography, National Bibliography. The second part, confined to historical bibliography, is to contain four chapters: Bibliography of Original Sources, National Bibliographies of Historical Bibliography, Repertories of Historical Bibliography, retrospective and current. The titles are sufficiently suggestive to render detailed notice unnecessary.

The scope of the work makes it materially incomplete. Choice was necessary, but the choices made seem to us to have been judicious. In a concluding chaper the author summarizes the impressions received from his studies. An analytical and an alphabetical table—things not always found in French and German works—add to the value of M. Langlois' book.

II. M. Ulysses Chevalier began the publicaton of his *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen-âge* thirty years ago. The work was to consist of three parts, giving under the name of sources, books and dissertations on the men, the events and the literature of that period. The first parts appeared from 1877 to 1888, under the name *Bio-bibliographie.* It is well known to scholars the world over. The second part, begun in 1894, is being published now, under the name *Topo-bibliographie,*[1] which, taken in its etymological sense, is made to include not only countries, provinces and cities but also religions, civil, economic and pedagogical institutions, families, sciences and general questions.

[1] *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen-âge; Topo-bibliographie,* par Ulysse Chevalier Montebéliard. Paul Hoffmann, 1894.

The work, confined though it be to one period of history, is too vast for any individual, hence defects are inevitable. Instances of insufficient treatment may be found in the articles on Abstinence, Absolution, Ame, Aristotle—to confine ourselves to the letter A. However, no fair critic should content himself with calling attention to the faults of the work. It represents immense labor, it is valuable, and the faults can be eliminated. The geographical articles merit particular notice. Those on Germany, England, Austria, Belgium, etc., are quite extensive.

Works are indicated in alphabetical order under various headings. Thus, for example, we find under the name Germany the following headings: academy, archæology, bibliography, library, biography, council, details, diplomacy, law, economics, church, empire, generalities, literature, nobility, numismatics, periodicals, preaching, sources, universities.[1] The work is descriptive—critical references are only occasionally found.

III. In 1883, the author of the *Literature of Theology*[2] published the *Bibliotheca Theologica.* It was incomplete, having been hastily compiled. The work before us succeeds it as a second edition.

The author himself seems to find his title inexact, for he says in the preface that he aims to indicate the *best* books published in *Great Britain,* the *United States* and *Canada.* The actual field covered is even narrower than this. Latin, French, and German books are scarcely mentioned; those written in or translated into English practically monopolize the work. Still more, non-Catholic writers seem to be the rule, the attention paid to Catholics being limited too much. It would have been a convenience had this been explicitly stated by the author, for it might have prevented the prospective reader from looking for the Summa of St. Thomas, which is not translated into English, and it might also prevent disappointment for him in not finding the works of Bishop

[1] The order of the corresponding French words is alphabetical.

[2] *Literature of Theology.* A Classified Bibliography of Theological and General Religious Literature, by John Fletcher Hurst.– New York, 1896.

England or the apology of Schanz, or the writings of many other Catholics.

Even in the field to which the author seems to have devoted himself the work is not complete. While professing to be *exhaustive* it aims to indicate only the *best*, the most *desirable* books. It might be too much to ask the author's reasons for his choice of special works mentioned. Yet we must inquire why the Hibbert lectures are mentioned and the Gifford lectures are not noticed; why the volume of Giacinto Achilli (not Achille) is named among the *best* and *most desirable* books to which the bibliography confines itself? Is it on account of his merit, in spite of Newman's exposition of his truly despicable character?

The classification followed by the author is open to serious objections, which we do not discuss. The reader must at times wonder at the motive which led the author to mention some writers at all, or to place certain works in a certain class. Thus, Part IV. Systematic Theology, ch. 2, Special Doctrinal Theology, n. 32, Ethics, we find Spencer's Data of Ethics and Principles of Ethics. It is hard to understand why these works should belong to Christian Ethics and should appear in a theological bibliography any more than the works of Hobbes.

The author has sometimes been betrayed into inaccuracies which will not escape an observant reader. Thus, page 225 on Jesuitism, we find cited *Joly, Crétineau.* The rule followed is to cite name and Christian name, as, for instance, the author cites himself: *Hurst, John.* But the writer in question was *Jacques Crétineau-Joly,* hence it should appear, *Crétineau-Joly, Jacques.* Then again, as to the work cited on Jesuitism, one would expect to find the large five or six volume *Histoire religeuse, politique et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus,*— which has been translated into English. But not so. In its place we have a work cited which does not appear at all in the exhaustive list of Crétineau-Joly's works published in his life by Maynard.

IV. The author of the *Bibliographie der Social Politik,*[1]

[1] *Bibliographie der Social Politik, Bearbeitet und heraus gegeben von Josef Stammhammer. Bibliothekär des juridisch-politischen Lese vereins in Wien.* Jena, Fischer, 1897.

published a Bibliography of Socialism and Communism in 1893. Both follow the same plan—alphabetical order of authors, and in the case of anonymous works, of titles. The volume contains an alphabetical index of subjects, with names or titles and references. More important subjects are subdivided into a number of headings, an arrangement which greatly facilitates the search for literature.

Imperfections in such an undertaking are inevitable. We note defects in the indications of modern literature as well as of older works. Thus we miss the works of Louis Vives, *De Subventione Pauperum,* and Laurent à Villavicentio, *De Oeconomia Sacra Pauperum,* both of great importance in the history of charity. In the same way the works of Maffei, *Dell impiego del Denaro,* Bellerini, *Do Jure divino et naturali circa usuram,* and Cardinal de la Luzerne, *Sur le prêt de commerce,* each very valuable for the stuly of usury, are not mentioned. Nearly every important article is marked by similar omissions. As for more recent works we fail to find the reports of the Congrés des œuvres sociales, held at Liege in 1886, 1887, 1890; nor do we see mentioned, not to speak of others, the congress held at Paris in 1887 by the Societé d' économie sociale et les Unions de la paix sociale.

Failing to examine carefully the works or even the titles indicated, the author has been betrayed into inaccuracies which are pardoned less easily. Thus in the alphabetical list of writers we find Abertus Magnus, *Philosophia Pauperum.* One would imagine that one had here a thirteenth century work on charity. The complete title dispels the illusion, for the work is anything but that. The title is *Philosophia Pauperum sive Isagoge in libros Aristotelis de physico auditu, de coelo et mundo, de generatione et corruptione, de meteoris et anima.*

We repeat, inaccuracies must be expected. In spite of them, the utility of the work and the merit of the author are beyond question.

V. The *Bibliography of Education*[1] appears in the Interna-

[1] *Bibliography of Education,* by W. S. Monroe, A.B., Department of Pedagogics and Psychology, State Normal School, Westfield, Mass. New York : Appleton, 1897 ; xxiv. 202.

tional Educational Series. It seems to be destined for persons engaged in primary and secondary education, being practical rather than scientific. The information supplied by it is on popular works rather than on the real sources. It is exclusively Anglo-American. In the preface we read, "Except in the matter of works of reference (encyclopedias and bibliographies), the selection has been limited to publications in the *English* language, supposed to be *obtainable in the ordinary course of trade.*"

It is to be regretted that such a principle should be strictly followed in composing a work of this character. At any rate some exceptions should be made. The great *sources* like the Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis by Denifle and Chatelin, the Statuts, lois et reglements des Universités françaises depuis 1200 jusqu' á 1789, by Marcel Fournier, should be inserted. *Historical publications* like Die Universität des Mittelalters by Denifle, should be indicated. *Collections of documents* as Monumenta germaniæ pedagogica by Kehrbach, the Bibliothek der Katholischen Paedagogik of Kunz should be given. Exception should be made also for *important reviews,* as Revue internationale de l'Enseignment superieur, for *works of special merit* and of universal value, and finally for works of a class not usually found in English. The introduction of such indications would have enhanced the value of the book, and it would have in no way destroyed its Anglo-American character.

In the choices which the author made he was not always happy. For example, in the chapter on the History of Education, there seems to be no reason for inserting Draper's History of the Intellectual Development of Europe, Brice's Holy Roman Empire, Blaise Pascal's Provincial Letters, Paul Bert's volume on La Morale des Jésuits, works on the voyages of Pére Marquette and Missionary Labors Among the Iroquois. Again, in the chapter on the Theory of Education, it seems hardly necessary to introduce the Avesta, the Koran and the Talmud. Instead of the Constitution of the Jesuits, it would have been more in line with the author's purpose to indicate the Ratio Studiorum.

In the article on Professional Education we note some de-

fects. Everyone knows that the English language is poor in works on Catholic theological pedagogics. Our author cites one work—Scheeben—and the work cited is not a manual of pedagogics but a manual of theology. Some pamphlets published in England might have been mentioned—as Diocesan Seminaries and the Education of Ecclesiastical Students by Bourne; as also the American work on our seminaries by Talbot Smith.

The tendency to make a bibliography along the lines of language is getting strong. We note this work and the Bibliography of Hurst as examples. It is to be regretted; a certain narrow knowledge is the inevitable result—a fault for which the French have been severely though justly criticised.

We have spoken frankly. Defects are inevitable. Those mentioned do not deprive the work of its useful character nor diminish the merit of the author. He justly makes his own the sentiment which he credits to Anthony à Wood: "A painfull work it is and more than difficult, wherein that toyle hath been taken as no man thinketh, and no man believeth, but he that hath made the triall."

VI. The two most important libraries in the world are that of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

The catalogue of the former, begun in 1881, is nearly finished. It follows the dictionary system,—that is, in the general alphabetical series of names of authors, an indefinite number of subject-entries,[1] is inserted. All the works of a given character or on a given subject are placed under the corresponding heading. This is equivalent to the insertion of special catalogues and bibliograpical monographs in the general catalogue. Some of the subject-entries have been published separately and sold, as, for instance, Aristotle, Dante, Academy.

A methodical catalogue of the Paris Library was commenced about the middle of this century. The project had to be abandoned after some parts were published. It was decided recently to issue an alphabetical catalogue. The first volume has just appeared, containing a learned introduction by Leo-

[1] In German *Stichwörter*, in Italian *parole d'ordine*, in French, *mots souches, mots typiques.*

pold Delisle. M. G. Picot, when offering the volume to the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, announced that millions of cards have been prepared; that six or eight volumes might be published annually and that the whole catalogue may occupy a hundred to a hundred and twenty volumes. Its completion, says M. Picot, will be an event in the history of learning. We must remark, however, that the plan adopted has not escaped criticism.

Up to recent times, every library of importance had its printed catalogue. Nowadays the inclination to be satisfied with a good card catalogue is growing. The Boston Public Library and the Athenæum have not printed catalogues in 25 years. Those who have access to the library experience no difficulty, but outsiders would find it very convenient could they consult a catalogue before going to a city at a distance to use a library. Hence we certainly owe the expression of our appreciation to the administration of the library of the Surgeon General's Office of the U. S. Army for having begun the second series of its Index-catalogue. The work is a masterpiece and is so regarded everywhere. The moralist, the sociologist, the man of law, not less than the physician and surgeon, will find it extremely useful. As an instance of its range, take the single letter A—Abstinence, Accident, Annals, Anthropology, Anthropometry, Aristotle, Archæology, Astrology, Avicenna. The first volume of the second series includes 6,346 authors and titles, representing 6,127 volumes and 6,327 pamphlets; 7,834 subject-titles and 30,384 titles of articles in periodicals. Another catalogue of great utility is that of the Peabody Library of Baltimore. There were four volumes in the first one. The second volume of the second catalogue has already appeared.

VII. The publication of general or universal bibliographies is becoming—as it must become—a collective work. The task is too great for any individual, let him be ever so capable. National and international societies are being formed every year. They exist already for the current bibliography of

mathematics, of zoology, and comparative anatomy. The *Société Bibliographique* of Paris deserves special notice. Founded in 1868, aside from its regular bulletin, it publishes a universal bibliograhy—*le Polybiblion*—which appears as a monthly. Each number has two parts, one literary and one technical. The latter includes a methodical bibliography of new works appearing in France or in foreign countries, summaries of the principal reviews of the world, of the publications of learned societies, and of leading French newspapers. This Société Bibliographique holds an international bibliographical congress every ten years. The first took place in 1878, the second in 1888. The report of the latter fills a large volume of 900 pages. It is divided into four sections, the scientific and literary movements, popular publications, bibliography strictly so-called, international societies. The third congress will take place this year. It deserves every success. It is to be hoped that effective interest in its work will not be lacking on this side of the ocean. The promoters of the plan are men of unquestioned merit, men like the Marquis de Beaucourt and M. Henri Stein, of the bibliothéque nationale.

But even societies, if private, seem hardly equal to the task of bibliography making. Those interested in the progress of organization are beginning to look to the state for assistance. In fact, some regard it as by no means improbable that the civilized nations may yet co-operate in and defray the expenses of bibliographical work. The most striking attempt in this direction is the foundation of the Institut international de bibliographie at Brussels in 1895. It aims to publish a Repertoire bibliographique universel, in which it uses the well known decimal system of classification developed by Mr. Dewey, of New York. The Bibliographia sociologica by MM. de la Fontaine and Otlet; the bibliographia philosophica by the Institute of Philosophy of Louvain; the bibliographia astronomica and the bibliographia philologica have appeared already.

Two congresses have been held, one in 1895 and one in 1897, at Brussels. The latter was organized by MM. de la Fontaine and Otlet and presided over by M. le Chevalier Descamps, of Louvain. A large number of learned men from many countries

took part. The ideal and the method of classification adopted by the Brussels society have, however, not found universal acceptance; MM. Valois and Stein find the former chimerical and the latter seriously defective. But both have strong defenders. We might name M. D. Chilovi of the national library of Florence, who has just published the first part of his I cataloghi e l'Istituto internazionale di Bibliografia, in which he defends the decimal system of classification, not indeed as perfect but as the best practical plan imaginable.

Academies and universities might do a great deal in the bibliography of particular branches of knowledge were they to organize for the purpose. We would like to see something of the kind done for Catholic theology. Splendid works of special and general retrospective bibliography are indeed not lacking. We have them in the Bibliothecæ of the writers of various religious orders, in the collections of Roskovany, etc. But the bibliography of current theology is far from perfect. We have nothing to compare to the Jahresberichte founded by R. A. Lipsius. At the Bibliographical Congress held in 1888, in the section devoted to the scientific movement, there were indeed communications of biblical exegesis, apologetics, church history, but not a word on dogmatic or moral theology, on canon law, liturgy or patrology. Such a condition could be effectually changed were the seminärs in our theological faculties to publish a periodical bulletin of new works and articles on special branches of theological science, and scientific retrospective bibliographies on selected questions which they are actually studying.

T. Bouquillon.

THE SOUL IN THE SYSTEM OF ST. THOMAS.[1]

The domain of Philosophy is much wider than that of Psychology; but no member of a philosophical society, I am sure, would entertain a "Theory of Things" from which the nature of mind was excluded. On the other hand, it has been truly said that "every principal psychological problem leads up to and lays heavily upon the very heart of reason itself a number of philosophical problems most important and most profound."[2] This holds good not only of the "elder psychology," as it is called, but also of the vigorous modern phase in which empirical and even experimental methods play the leading rôle. For the more we learn, itemwise, of our mental life, the more pressing becomes the need of a systematic view in which the ultimate nature of mind and its relations to all things else shall be adequately set forth.

From this need there would seem to be no escape for any psychologist who dares to push his investigations to their logical conclusions. We may draw the line between "Empirical Psychology" and "Rational Psychology," or confine "Psychology," within empirical limits in order to handle more freely the "Philosophy of Mind," or finally we may marshal the facts of mind under some more comprehensive theory and speak of the "Principles of Psychology;" in any case, sooner or later, we must face the inevitable question: What is mind and how is it related to matter?

It is not, therefore strange that when psychologists gather to discuss the outcome of experimental research, the culminating problems of their science should receive more than passing notice. This has repeatedly happened in the annual meetings of our American Psychological Association. It happened again in 1896 at the Third International Congress of Psychology, where the president's address formed a metaphysical

[1] An address before the Philosophical Society of Smith College, November 1, 1897

[2] Ladd, "Philosophy of Mind." New York, 1895, p. 72.

introduction to the discussion of empirical topics. And it happens either in the preface or in the closing chapter of every new text-book or outline of Psychology, severely faithful as the other chapters may be to the methods of observation and experiment.

It is significant also that the best of these treatises, after presenting the results obtained by empirical investigation and formulating such laws as those results seem to justify, are content to hand over the ultimate problems to another more speculative science,—the science of Metaphysics. This fact is generally overlooked by those who declaim vigorously against "Psychology without a Soul," while it is often misconstrued by those who are fearful of Psychology without a brain. Yet in neither case are the apprehensions founded. The finest of our laboratory methods, the keenest introspection, the most voluminous report on qualitative, quantitative and statistical findings,—all these scarcely graze the central problem. And on the other hand, when Anatomy, Histology and Physiology have acquitted themselves to the best of their power, the same problem stretches out upon a horizon that grows wider as our scientific climbings lead to higher heights. In a word, then, the appeal to Metaphysics is well taken, and to Metaphysics we shall go.

Now a peculiarity of metaphysical thought, due no doubt to the breadth of its conceptions and the strong hold these maintain upon our mental fiber, is its relative unchangeableness. I do not mean that all metaphysical systems are constructed on the same lines or even on the same general plan; but rather that all are obliged to deal with certain fundamental ideas, and that each gets its character from the attitude it assumes toward these ideas. Hence with all our progress in empirical science, amid the ebb and flow of scientific theory, Metaphysics is still anchored to the concepts of being, becoming, relating and causing, which, with various interpretations as to their origin and import, have always been at the bottom of philosophy.

This, moreover, explains the fact that the metaphysics of the past is far more enduring than the science of the past. With Aristotle the metaphysician, we are more at home than

with Aristotle the physicist; the atoms of the earlier Greeks are more honored than their chemical elements; and many a scholastic principle has survived in philosophy though the Schoolmen are not recognized as masters in natural science.

It is a chapter in this scholastic philosophy that I wish to lay before you to-day, and its author is the prince of the Schoolmen, St. Thomas Aquinas. Revered by the Church for the singular purity of his life, he also deserves the respect of philosophers in every age for his subtle analytical powers and for his broad synthetic grasp of all the knowledge available in the thirteenth century. That this knowledge was limited so far as the physical sciences went, no one can deny. Nor is it my purpose to show that Aquinas even suggests what are now common views in physics, physiology, or experimental psychology. He devised no methods for measuring the intensity of sensation; he formulated no laws that could give Fechner or Weber a clue. But as a metaphysician, he did treat of that which is still the ultimate problem in psychology; and his conception of the soul, I venture to say, will bear the test which modern research enables us to apply.

The application of the test is the easier because the basic principle in the Thomistic theory is that on which we nowadays insist. In other words, we have a common ground of discussion to start with and this is the method which St. Thomas adopts. He does not begin with an arbitrary concept of the soul's nature in order to prove that it *must* behave in this way or that; much less does he frame a theory of things —a Weltanschauung, and fit the soul at all costs into this *a priori* mould. On the contrary, he explicitly states that such scientific knowledge as we may get concerning the nature of mind, must be gotten by a painstaking and searching study of our mental experience.[1] Before we can advance one step in the problem we must know accurately how sensations, thoughts, emotions and volitions take their rise and how they behave in consciousness.

Now these, in the first place, are *processes,* that is to say, they are not *things;* their coöperation is not as the clustering of grapes, nor their succession as the coursing of rain drops.

[1] *Summa Theol.* I., 87.

In the second place, they are *processes;* and for this very reason they must proceed from something. We cannot conceive an action without an agent, or a doer anymore than we can conceive motion without something that moves. To say therefore that there are mental processes is to assert by implication that there is a mind—a substantial reality of some sort which behaves in such a way that we call its behavior "consciousness." In fact, if it is a blunder to regard the workings of mind as "entities" in the modern sense of the term, it is equally unreasonable to speak of them as processes that float off from nothing and evaporate to nowhere. And furthermore when one considers all that these baseless processes are supposed to do, one may well ask if "process" has not lost its original innocence and hardened into an enveloping membrane for these same insidious entities.

This suspicion is not allayed by the assertion that our inner expeience, though made up of processes, calls for no substrate because it is immediate and thus radically differs from that outer experience the items of which compel us to form the supplemental idea of substance. From the Thomistic point of view, this assertion is open to a double rejoinder.

First. "Immediateness" is imbiguous. If it implies that our conscious processes are more at home to us, more thoroughly a part of our being and life, than are the transactions of the external world, it expresses a very simple fact. But if it be taken to denote a characteristic of our cognition, in such a way that we know our own mental states more readily and more surely than we know things outside, we cannot give to our inner experience the advantage of immediateness. There is at any rate the medium of reflection which must modify to some extent the character of the processes on which we reflect; and there may be also the medium of memory whereby we summon a process from the past to make it the subject of introspective study. Hence if mediateness be our warrant for the concept of substance, mental processes are, to say the least, as capable of such an interpretation as are the phenomena which we regard as extra-mental.

Second. To say that inner experience is immediately given, or given in any other way, is an incomplete statement until we

point out to what or to whom it is given. As soon as this is done, as soon as we say not only "unmittelbar gegeben," but "*uns* unmittelbar gegeben," we come right round to our starting point to find it bristling with questions like this: What is the *uns* or the *mir?* How does it act and what does it do when this experience is *given* to it? And who or what is it that so generously "gives?"

Mediate, then, or immediate, our inner experience, no less than our outer experience, demands, or rather implies, a subject of which it is the experience.

Logically, the next question would be: What is the nature of this substantial reality which our mental processes postulate? But here we are challenged by the sentinel of Agnosticism. No passing this line, we are told; the substance of mind is unknown and unknowable,—a Ding an sich,—the knowledge of which is beyond the grasp of human intelligence as it now exists.

St. Thomas, indeed, admits that the substance of mind is never so present to consciousness as to be known scientifically by simple intuition; the essence of the soul is not laid bare to our immediate apprehension; but he claims, on the other hand, that the nature of mind is revealed in its actions. Not only do our mental processes, because they are processes, point to a substance of mind, but they also, because they are processes of this and that kind, show forth the nature of that substance. Cross-examine our minds as we will, we cannot escape this fundamental law of cognition; we know a thing by its action, and only by its action.

But what of our sentinel and what of his challenge? The reply is merely this,—that he has forgotten the pass-word. If we deliberately lop off our mental processes from that which underlies them and shove back this mutilated something into outer darkness, then the weeping and wailing over the unknowableness is our own fault. What we are lamenting is not a reality, but a fiction of our own minds,—an abstraction which is both illegitimate and fatal when the validity of our knowledge is at stake. And the folly of such a proceeding is seen to be tenfold more foolish when we ask why this unnatural eject is unknowable; the only answer must be,—because it

gives no sign, it puts out not even a pseudoped that we can grasp, it is a blackened and petrified remnant. But before our abstraction it did give signs and its nature flamed out in the manifold activities of our empirical consciousness; yet the signs were not understood: we blew out the light to see how the lamp was made, and now we wonder that we are in the dark. Here, truly, to the weeping and wailing may be added the gnashing of teeth.

Passing over this imaginary sentry line, we take with us as the teaching of Aquinas these guiding principles: our mental processes issue from a substantial reality, and the nature of this substance can be ascertained by studying these processes.

If we had to deal with purely intellectual processes alone, and if they covered the entire activity of the Ego, the task would be less difficult. But along with these we find conscious phenomena which evidently depend upon organic functions, and below these we know that there are processes in the organism which never cross the threshold of consciousness. Shall we say that the one reality in us is corporeal and endeavor to show how this material substance is the source of our highest conscious activities as of the elemental unconscious processes; or shall we first make sure of the substance of mind and then inquire how it stands towards the entire reality that makes up this human self?

It is this latter course that St. Thomas adopts, not only because it avoids the pitfalls of *a priori* speculation, but also because it keeps clearly in view the specific nature of man. For the human organism has physiological functions that are found in the simplest forms of vegetal life; it has sensory activities that are shared by the lower animals; but these are not the characteristics which determine the nature of the human soul. To understand this nature we must take it at its best by studying the highest processes which it puts forth; we must gauge its full capacity by examining those workings of intellect which transcend all other activities in man.

That thought in some way transcends sensation is beyond dispute; the question is—to what degree? Is it merely a higher function of the same organic agency, or does it require a superorganic principle? The reply of St. Thomas is not

doubtful. That something in us which is the source of our intellectual activity cannot be material, cannot be identified with even the most complex and perfectly developed organ; it must be a higher form of reality,—it must be spiritual.

This position he maintains by various arguments, each of which lays stress on some special feature of our intellectual life or meets some special objection. For our present purpose it will suffice to outline the reasoning which he probably considered most cogent, and which brings out most forcibly the contrast between matter and mind.

In this argument again, the starting-point is a well-established empirical fact: our mind is able to understand all things corporeal, that is to say, it can give rise to processes which mentally reproduce the nature of any material reality lying outside the mind. This fact, of course, had not escaped the earliest philosophers of Greece; so potent indeed was it, and so decisive, that they, in materialistic sense, inferred that the soul must be an agglomerate of all the elements—a sort of complex molecule in which every kind of matter had its representative, and was thereby known. But to the keener insight of Aquinas these facts pointed quite the opposite conclusion. If the mind, he says, cognizes the nature of all material things, it must be capable of determination by each of its various objects. It would not, however, be thus plastic if its own nature were material; for every particle of matter and every aggregate of such particles is so fixed and determined in its nature that it is not susceptible of that modification which cognition implies. In modern phrase: an atom of carbon does not *know* the oxygen atoms with which it unites, because, whatever be its valence before or after the union, it is always carbon; and if, *per impossibile,* we should attribute consciousness to such an atom, its perception in all combinations and under all influences would still be carbonic. Or let us take for illustration the most highly organized matter with which we are acquainted, and see whether the substance of brain and nerve is, of itself, determinable in such a way as to furnish knowledge of the outer world. "The wave of change," says Mr. Spencer, "set up by a peripheral disturbance is not like the action which causes it; and the waves of change set up in

different nerves by different peripheral disturbances have no such unlikeness as have the disturbances themselves."[1] And we may add that the central disturbance resulting from nerve-impulses is still more unlike the action exerted upon the organs of sense. Whence Mr. Spencer concludes that our knowledge is entirely relative, telling us nothing about the real nature of that which we are said to know. And this conclusion is inevitable so long as we admit only the activity of material organs. As an eminent psychologist has said: "All that we could perceive, were the mechanism of cerebral processes fully exposed to our view, would be a whirl of molecular movements."[2] St. Thomas would have inferred: if, in the last analysis, the most refined of material processes are movements, a mind that is identified with matter or bound down to any material organ can have no ideas save those of movement and its multiple variations. Yet this is a flat contradiction of our mental experience whereby we have knowledge of all material things. Therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that our ideational processes have their origin in a substance which is not intrinsically dependent upon any material organ. Both the homeopathic view of Democritus and the allopathic view of Spencer are extremes; Aquinas follows the middle course.

From this reasoning you might infer that the Thomistic position is the same as that of Descartes—that the substantial soul is merely a *res cogitans,* and that all the other processes of mind are relegated to the organism. Sensation, emotion, imagination and association, it might appear, are functions of the body with which the soul has nothing to do, until they are presented to it in that mysterious audience chamber, the pineal gland. Yet the inference would be hasty and would distort the view of St. Thomas. For he explicitly states that sensation, and in fact all processes save those of intellection and volition, are joint activities of body and mind. It is the substantial soul that acts in eye and ear and skin, in nerve fibre and nerve cell, in ganglion and cortex—and the same soul that conceives the most sublime ideas and wills the mightiest resolves.

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[1] *Principles of Psychology,* 3d ed., London, 1890, Vol. I., p. 207.
[2] Wundt, *System der Philosophie.* Leipzig, 1889, p. 583.

Then, at any rate you will say, this soul-activity must be limited to consciousness. With modern psychologists we must take over to the psychical side all processes that are conscious, and leave to the organism and its physico-chemical laws those vital functions that go on unceasingly in the body whether we wake or sleep and that break over the threshold of mind only to warn us that something is wrong in the bodily gear.

Yet even this limitation plausible as it may seem is not in accord with the Thomistic view. The soul is the source of all human activities both conscious and unconscious. No organ however obscure nor its frailest tissue, nor its minutest cell, functions apart from the soul. All the complicated work of metabolism in building up and breaking down, in securing nutrition and growth and reproduction, has for its mainspring the soul. And from the soul comes the marvelous combination whereby functions so widely different are harmonized and balanced, so filled with order and purpose that their resultant is life.

But finally, you will say those bodily elements have existence; this "too solid flesh" is real being and its component parts have existed at some time or other as substantial realities outside of this whole. Must it not follow that in man there are at least two substances, one material and the other spiritual? And if this be the case, are we not face to face with a more vexing metaphysical problem than any we have hitherto encountered?

That the problem is serious, I readily admit. Had Scholastic philosophy never touched it our modern discussions have certainly kept it before us with hypotheses unnumbered of "parallelism" and "double aspects," and subjective-objective manifestations of an unknowable *tertium quid*. But while each of these is supported by more or less shrewd speculation, I doubt whether any is more helpful towards a solution than the theory of Thomas Aquinas. Tersely put, his position is this: In man there are not two actually existing and specifically complete substances; there is one complete substance, the existence of which is owned primarily by the soul and is communicated by the soul to the matter of the body. Hence, whatever there is of actual being in the body, whatever it has

of excellence as a living organism, whatever its fitness as a co-factor in our mental life,—in a word, whatever makes it *human,*—all this is derived from the substantial soul. But the substance, full and specifically complete, is *man.*

> l'alma dentro a vostro polve
> Per differenti membra, e conformate
> A diverse potenzie, si risolve.
> —*Par.* II., 133.

From this mildly monistic point of view, we may now survey with advantage some phases of our problem which, in passing, must have seemed obscure. In the first place, let me remind you that we are not dealing with a "soul-atom" nor trying to determine its location in the brain or any other favored region of the body. The soul, according to St. Thomas, permeates the organism in every part, quickening with life the tiniest particle of protoplasm no less than the entire bodily structure, and exercising its activity in peripheral regions as well as at the centre.

Secondly, we are not worrying over an *influxus physicus,* nor any other sort of influxus, to explain how a process that is originally physical and not psychical, organic but not conscious is so transformed as to become a mental process; for at the very origin of each sensory function in its appropriate organ and all along the line of transmission to the final disturbance in the cortical cell, this function possesses a psychical character.

Consequently, in the third place when we deal with the ultimate problem, we do not ask how brain as a mere bundle of matter, is related to mind as a mere bundle of conscious states. Formulated in these terms the problem, as St. Thomas regards it, is insoluble. But we may hope at least for a solution if we conceive both the cerebral process and the mental process as issuing from the soul in different phases of activity. Since the brain function is in reality produced by the soul acting through an organic co-factor, the mental state is confronted, not with a mere chemical or mechanical process, but with a psychical process, though of a lower order. Strictly speaking, therefore, "parallelism" is not the proper term for this relation; and if we *must* express it in the language of

geometry, it would be better to regard it as a coördination in which the organic axis and the mental axis have a common origin—the substantial soul.

Glancing back over this outline of St. Thomas' theory, we see that it hinges entirely upon the valuation of mental process, and the basis of that valuation is the metaphysical principle that the reality and nature of any acting thing are determined by the character of its action. Our mental processes indicate a substantial something; they further declare that this cannot be material; they postulate an intimate connection between mind and organism, yet forbid us to regard these as separate substances. And since there are some operations of mind which transcend the activity of matter, while on the other hand there is no function of the organism that does not require the activity of the living soul,—St. Thomas unifies the constituents of our being in a single existence, the source of which is one and the same soul.

I am aware, of course that at every step of my exposition I have crossed avenues of thought that lead far into the regions of Epistemology and Metaphysics. It was not possible to reach this central problem without trenching on many principles that would require further elucidation. Nor is it possible here to venture upon such explanation. Still, there is one phase of our subject which I can hardly afford to leave unnoticed. For, after all, the question is probably in your minds at this moment: How is this theory of the great scholastic affected by the actual trend of research? How would St. Thomas be impressed if he took up one of our modern psychological reviews, or entered a psychological laboratory? Assuming that his philosophical views have not changed, I should answer: He would welcome the results, detailed and minute as they are, of every investigation that throws light upon the workings of mind. He would profit by each new advance of physiology and psycho-physics to round out and perfect his theory of the union of body and soul. Whatever can be ascertained by fine observation or delicate experiment concerning the origin of our mental processes, their relations

and mutual behavior, the laws of their succession and the modes of their manifestation in bodily changes, would find place in his systematic view. No fact, however trivial it may seem, would be trivial in his eyes; for all the facts established since his day by painstaking research are items of that *diligens et subtilis inquisitio* that he required as the indispensable condition for arriving at a knowledge of the soul.

E. A. Pace.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DIFFICULTIES IN BOTANY.[1]

Nothing in all the history of science in America is more remarkable than what the last quarter of this closing century has witnessed in respect to a strong revival among us of an interest in systematic botany, and a sudden and large increase in the number of efficient workers along these lines. Fifteen years ago there could scarcely have been named ten men who were in this country giving much time and attention to our flora from a taxonomic point of view. To-day there are probably not less than a hundred zealously engaged in field, library, and herbarium, upon the life history and the written history of our plants and trees. After about a half-century of actual steady decline of interest in these subjects, and of gradual decrease in the number of active botanists, all at once times like those of seventy years since are upon us; the times of Michaux, Pursh, Nuttall, Elliott, Muhlenberg, Rafinesque, De Schweinitz, Le Conte and their less famous but numerous co-workers of the first decades of the century. For now the number of our botanical students and authors is multiplied quite in the ratio of the increase of our population since 1820.

And this new generation is learning what the earlier one well understood—that the study of any plant's life history and taxonomy must proceed along with its written, or bibliographic history. This necessity of bibliographic work, with its manifold difficulties, comes of the importance of a precise and uniform nomenclature in botany. There is, of course, no science without its nomenclature and terminology. And in botany nothing can be done, at least no results of research can be communicated, apart from the names of the plants or groups of plants which have been under investigation. Just as the correct and full and true name of any man is a kind of necessity of his existence as a member of society, so the name of the family, of the genus and of the species to which any tree or

[1] Read before the Botanical Society of America, at its annual meeting, August 18, 1897, at Toronto, Can.

shrub or herb belongs is indispensable to a scientific, or indeed any kind of, understanding and discussion of it. And, as the individual member of human society has each his own name, and that name is fixed, and a matter of record, at least in the minds of as many as know him, so each specific member of the plant kingdom has its own rightful name, a name assigned, or at least recorded, at some time in the near or remote past; a name which is therefore a thing with a definite history, and a matter of bibliography. Bibliographic problems in botany are therefore as important, to say the least, as is botanical nomenclature. And without botanical nomenclature the science itself is simply impossible. But botanical nomenclature means, or ought to mean, the same name for the same group of plants, for all botanists of whatever language or nation. This is agreed to by all. And it is, in a general way, as universally conceded that, under certain limitations, and with important exceptions, the scientific name of every plant species is determined by the principle of priority of publication. It is these admitted principles which, together with the long history and the immense literature of systematic botany, have placed taxonomic research, as we now try to carry it on, under many and very perplexing bibliographic difficulties.

Here let me state more precisely those nomenclatorial principles, the application of which involves so much of difficulty, owing to the mere vastness of good, accredited and indispensable botanical literature. The principles are three: (1) the employment of Latin as the language of plant names; (2) priority of publication, and (3) the binary character of all species names, as being made up of a genus name of one term and a species name of one term. These principles are at the foundation of nomenclature, and are fundamental in about the order here indicated. A plant is to be catalogued, and spoken of, or written of, under its oldest published Latin generic name of one term combined with its earliest published Latin specific name of one term. Our North American White Oak, for an illustration, is known to all botanists throughout the world by the binary Latin name of *Quercus alba, Quercus* being the classic Latin name of the genus, and *alba* the first Latin name

of one term for this particular species which obtained publication. This name was definitely assigned this important species by Linnæus in the year 1753, and is universally received as *the name* for it among all botanists. Of course if the principle of priority were absolutely fundamental, this could not be its name, for it was known, and doubtless written about, under the English name of *White Oak,* long before Linnæus. But systematists, writing for the whole fraternity of botanists, may not employ this most ancient and perfectly binary name, because it is not in the universal language of plant nomenclature. Both piority and the principle of binarity are here shown as necessarily subordinate to the principle of Latinity. Yet again, the excellent Latin name of *Quercus alba Virginiana* given by Catesby enjoys priority of publication over the Linnæan name for the species, yet is rejected because it is not binary but ternary; and in this and like instances both priority and mere Latinity are seen to have been made subordinate to the united qualities of Latinity and binarity found in the Linnæan name of *Quercus alba.*

In explanation of the actual situation of American botanists, as facing mountains of bibliographic difficulty in their attempts to correct, settle and harmonize our plant nomenclature, it may be charged against our botanists of earlier generations that, while faithful to the principles of Latinity and binarity, they were all too indifferent to matters of priority, often assigning new names to old species, which names now, after years of currency, must be suppressed and the prior ones restored, to the annoyance of all except the few more learned and critical whom changes in nomenclature do not disturb.

To that generation of American botanists which began its work early in the last quarter of the nineteenth century will always be given the credit of having attempted to settle the nomenclature of our vast flora bibliographically, by applying the principle of priority of publication, as a test of the validity of names. The work was undertaken concertedly, by a very large majority of the working botanists of the time, even including a number of those who had shared in the labors of an earlier generation, and it has progressed rapidly. But the results might have been better, had the laborers fore-

seen at the outset what numerous and grave obstacles to easy success lay before them in the shape of hard bibliographic problems.

Before the convening of that noted public meeting which, in the summer of 1892, formulated and approved what have been called the Rochester Rules, it had come to be apprehended that the difficulties of bibliography might prove in the aggregate, discouragingly numerous and many of them insuperable; and so it was voted to make the year 1753 the initial date from which to work for the correcting and reforming of botanical nomenclature. This, it seems to have been believed, would obviate the necessity of the study of that vast aggregate of botanical literature which had been published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the first half of the eighteenth, and thus the great bulk of hard nomenclatural problems would be ruled out of all consideration.

The year 1753 is ever memorable in the history of botany. It is the date of the publication of Linnæus' *species Plantarum,* the work in which all the species of plants then known are designated each by the double name, the generic and the specific, each of one term. This binary nomenclature, although it had been nearly universal two centuries earlier than 1753, was in need of restoration and completion; and Linnæus in this work approximately completed such reform. And yet the selecting this work as the one from which to reckon priority in binary nomenclature, while seeming to evade the necessity of studying and correlating laboriously the voluminous literature of more than two earlier centuries, yet involved some new and peculiar difficulties of the same kind; difficulties hardily apprehended by many, if by any, of those who approved the choice of the new bibliographic starting point. For the first and most important part of the plant name is its genus name; and the genera of Linnæus are of the worst, as to their definition and delimitation. For example, the pretended genus to which he assigns the name *Erysimum* is made up with him of four species; but each of these species, according to the best pre-Linnæan authorities upon plant genera, as well as by the consensus of recent opinion, represents a distinct genus. His *Erysimum,* then, is no genus, but a confused mixture of the

four genera *Erysimum, Barbaræa, Alliaria,* and *Cheiranthus.* Here, then, the bibliographer is in trouble. For what one of these four separate generic types shall the name *Erysimum* be retained? The situation is not an extraordinary one. Its like is familiar to every systematic botanist of experience. The natural way out of the difficulty is that of recognizing the first species listed under a generic name, as the type of the genus, and the one to be maintained as representing it, in case others are excluded from it. Number V of the Rochester Rules explicitly recognizes and approves this principle. Yet, in the case of every book and catalogue published by Rochesterians since the enactment of their code, in which the genus *Erysimum* occurs, this principle is violated, and the last species—the *Cheiranthus*—is forced to stand for *Erysimum.*[1] Why is this? What bold array of obstacles confront the rank and file of the reformers of nomenclature, to deter them from applying here and elsewhere, when the Linnæan book of 1753 is concerned, the rule regarding type-species as determinative of the use of a generic name? We may perhaps find a hint of the answer by looking further at the composition of the genera, so-called, of the book of 1753. The *Senecio* of that noted volume has for its type what has long been known as *Erechtites hieracifolia.* Evidently no author is found bold enough to accept the small genus *Erechtites* as the real *Senecio,* seeing that such a movement would entail the dread necessity of placing under some other genus name, and specifically re-naming, the more than a thousand species now ranged by all authors under *Senecio.* In precisely the same manner, as it turns out, the *Trifolium* of the 1753 book is, as to its type species, *Melilotus,* the *Gnaphalium* is *Antennaria,* and the *Aster* is the South African genus *Felicia.* The reformation of nomenclature on this bibliographic basis, from the 1753 date as initial, would involve a greater revolution than that effected in his day by Linnæus himself. The bibliographic difficulty of the situation is so prodigious, that the rule which entailed it all is become, in less than five years from its passage, a dead one, as regards the use of the chief book concerned; and no other

[1] See *List of American Plants,* compiled by Dr. Britton and others, 1893-1894; also Britton & Brown. *Illustrated Flora,* ii. 151, 1897; and *Contributions form U. S. Herbarium,*

rule has been suggested publicly as a plausible one to take its place.

Difficulties of this class all vanish instantly if, with almost all botanists of the past two centuries, we take Tournefort and his immortal *Institutiones* of the year 1700 as the bibliographic starting point for the genera of plants; and a return to that initial date, on the part of those who have swerved from it, is inevitable, unless reason and good sense are to be denied their legitimate exercise.

In the segregation of species, the critical phytographer encounters another class of bibliographic difficulties more troublesome a great deal than those above indicated; difficulties from which there is no one easy avenue of escape; problems susceptible of being solved, nevertheless, if only the student have all the books, all the linguistic learning, all the field knowledge of living types, and all the time and patience necessary. This class of difficulties will also be best illustrated by taking up one or more special cases.

Every student of North American botany during the last one hundred and forty years or more has known a native violet which he has called *Viola palmata,* attributing to Linnæus the authorship of the species, as such, and its name. Yet it may be believed that not one among all these botanists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, knowing our several palmated violets, could say positively which one of these it was which Linnæus intended to designate by that specific name *palmata.* From the account which he gives of it, by bibliographic citation and otherwise, the problem is one of great difficulty. From the language of the specific character alone it would be forever impossible to ascertain which one he meant; for that language is merely this: *V. acaulis, foliis palmatis, 5-lobis dentatis indivisisque.* He adds that the species is a native of Virginia. Now, within the territory embraced by "Virginia" of Linnæus'[1] time there occur more than a half-dozen species of the genus *Viola,* any one of which or all of which may possibly have been included by the author mentioned under his name and definition of *V. palmata.* His description is loose enough to cover the whole lot. *V. asarifolia*

[1] Linn. Sp. Pl. 933.

of Pursh and of Schweinitz, *V. triloba* of Schweinitz, *V heterophylla* of Muhlenberg, *V. septemloba* of Le Conte, *V. emarginata* of Le Conte, and *V. Atlantica* of Britton,—any and all of these, in certain of their common forms, fall under the Linnæan diagnosis of *V. palmata.* Any one of them may have been the type of his species, if his species had a type. Each one of them responds well enough to the character of a "stemless *Viola* with leaves varying from uncut and merely toothed, to 5-lobed and palmately cleft."[1]

The perplexities of this particular situation have not been newly discovered. They must have confronted all those earlier authors, Pursh, Muhlenberg, Schweinitz, and Le Conte, who made special investigation of our violets. The old *Species Plantarum* was their manual, in those days, as it has not been with any later generation; as it will not be to any future one. Not one of them would have ventured to name as new a *Viola* species of the *V. palmata* group until he had first satisfied himself as to just what form was entitled to bear the name assigned by Linnæus.

We must now make a full presentation of the actual data by which the *V. palmata* is to be identified, if at all. The question, happily, does not rest alone on that technical but vague diagnosis which Linnæus himself framed. It is, like most of that author's species, whether pure and genuine, or aggregate and confused, a bibliographic species. It is to be identified, not by what Linnæus said about it for himself, but by a study of the older authors whom he cites in fuller illustration of his own meaning. Here is the whole of his paragraph:

VIOLA (*palmata*) acaulis, foliis palmatis, quinque-lobis, dentatis indivisisque.
Viola foliis palmatis sinuatis, stolonum reniformibus. *Gron. Virg.* 182.
Viola Virginiana, platani fere foliis parvis et incanis. *Pluk. Mant.* 187.
Viola alba, folio securis Romanæ effigie, Floridana. *Pluk. Amalt.* 209. *t.* 447. *f.* 1.
Habitat in Virginia.

This shows that the author under examination, having framed for his *Viola palmata* a diagnosis of his own, supplemented that by citing below it three other and earlier diagnoses

[1] A free but accurate version of the Linnæan diagnosis of *V. palmata.*

of what he took to be the same species. Let us see how these earlier authors as cited by him may help us in our efforts to determine the true *V. palmata.* The first citation is from Gronovius *Flora Virginica,* a work which had served as a manual of Virginian botany with Linnæus for about fourteen years before 1753. And it may at once be seen that Gronovius' descriptive power in botany surpasses that of Linnæus. His description is shorter, yet decidedly more definite; for he tells the palmated violet has its main leaves *sinuately* palmate and that its earlier ones are uncut and *reniform.* By virtue of those two words of Gronovius which I have put in italics our whole difficulty with the Linnæan *V. palmata* is reduced one-half. Three of the seven species which might have fallen under Linnæus' loose description are excluded. *V. emarginata, V. septemloba,* and *V. heterophylla* never exhibit either reniform early leaves, or sinuately palmated ones at any stage. Our possible representatives of the Linnæan species *V. palmata* are thus reduced to four: *V. triloba, V. asarifolia* and *V. Atlantica,* and one other, which have some early leaves reniform. Let us now critically consider the second citation which Linnæus gives to help us in the identification; that of Plukenet's *Mantissa.* This plainly indicates a plant with main foliage cut into the shape of those of a *Platanus,* or sycamore. We must now look for a violet of that leaf pattern. I suppose that forty-nine out of fifty of American botanists would at once institute a comparison of the leaves of this native violet of ours with those of our native sycamore, *Platanus occidentalis;* and this would put an end to all critical study of this Plukenetian diagnosis in relation to *V. palmata;* for there is no violet in America with anything approaching that pattern of leaf. But Plukenet had never seen that tree. *Platanus* with him meant simply the Old World species of that genus, the *P. orientalis,* with whose foliage he was perfectly familiar. It differs notably from ours in having a palmated leaf; and this is the foliage to which that of our violet is compared as to its cut.

Now we have in North America only two *Viola* species—and these may possibly be but different forms of one—with sinuately palmated late summer foliage. One of these is *V.*

Alantica.[1] The other differs from it only, or at least more notably, in being pubescent; typical *V. Alantica* being glabrous. Assuming, as we are almost obliged to, that Plukenet knew both these forms, and distinguished them, as he certainly appears to have done, which is to be taken for typical *V. palmata,* Linn? This is the most important of all the bibliographic questions presenting themselves in this example of book research. We began with seven very definite provisionally named *Viola* forms, any one, or all of which might represent that vague and most indefinite *V. palmata* of the diagnosis framed by Linnæus. By the help of bibliography placed at our service by that author, we have reasonably excluded all but two. Which one of these two is to bear that name? Both are certainly included under that name by Linnæus. They are to be segregated, and the name be left to one of the segregates. Shall it be left to designate the pubescent form or the glabrous one? Priority can not be brought in to aid in a decision; but precedence can; and precedence is accepted generally as the equivalent of priority. By this test the hairy plant, the one described as with *foliis incanis,* is to hold the name *V. palmata,* and the recently assigned name, *V. Atlantica* holds good for the glabrous form. To be sure, the only figure which Linnæus quotes as authority for his *V. palmata* is that of a glabrous plant, and really represents *V. Atlantica;* so that, had Linnæus but given, in his bibliography of *V. palmata,* precedence to Plukenet's plate 114, figure 7, we should have been compelled to accept *V. Atlantica* for the type of *palmata* and reject the name of recent publication. But we must not, I should say, yield up the law of precedence as actually decisive in these cases. And I say this in full view of the fact that a figure cited is, now and then, found to be the only means of settling such a bibliographic question. But here it is not necessary.

I have given this specific case of a bibliographic problem as one fully illustrative of the library equipment, the field knowledge of the subjects, the careful and critical use of descriptive phrases, and the use of the principles of priority and precedence, by means of which the taxonomist may settle the

[1] Britton, Bull. Torr. Club. xxiv. 92, and Illustr. Fl. ii. 446.

nomenclature of segregates where one of them is to bear a specific name imposed by Linnæus. Were it needful, I could as readily adduce a dozen others; but I shall here suggest but one other illustration of my topic.

In our country, the Asters form one of the most engaging groups of plants for taxonomic study. I do not believe that they are naturally half so difficult as, during the last generation of American botanists, they were given the reputation of being. But, if we are to endeavor to retain in use, and rightly apply, the names that have been assigned to species during the last 140 years,—and we are all agreed that this must be done,—the bibliographical difficulties in the genus are almost appalling. Of species indigenous to the Eastern and Southern United States and Canada, Linnæus published in 1753 about eighteen. His descriptions of these consist of from one to three or four lines in large type for each species. But there are hardly three out of the eighteen whose essential characters can be stated in so few words. Practically these diagnoses are worthless; and I may safely say there is no botanist living who, with nothing but Linnæus' *Species Plantarum* to guide him, could determine as many as three of the Linnæan Asters; so that his familiar binary names would have been *nomina nuda,* had not the author referred his students to all the old pre-Linnæan and better descriptions, and to the figures that accompany them. For thirteen out of his eighteen North American Asters he refers us to figures of Cornuti, Paul Herman, Morison, Plukenet, and Dillenius. Thus the identification of the Linnæan species depends upon little study of Linnæus, but much and most critical study of five celebrated pre-Linnæan Aster students whose works are rare and costly. And though our *Aster* species have been investigated repeatedly, in the light of full library equipment, by most competent phytographers, it may still be said that not more than three or four of those eighteen Linnæan species are at this day identified with certainty. And if these, *A. concolor, puniceus, cordifolius* and *Novæ-Angliæ,* are not open to question as to their identity, that is owing to the perfection of certain pre-Linnæan figured representations of them which the Swedish nomenclator indicates as his types. But in regard to other

species by the same author, species whose names are just as familiar, such as *A. undulatus, ericoides, Tradescanti, miser* and *dumosus,* the literature of the present indicates that their identity has been differently made out by different critics; and so the most patient and thorough field and library study must be undertaken in the case of each one of a dozen or more of the Linnæan species of this genus before we shall arrive at the very first beginning of a correct and stable nomenclature of this engaging genus. Each must be taken up and its bibliographic sources studied page by page and word by word, after the manner exemplified here in the case of *Viola palmata.* Let me, before leaving this instance of bibliographic difficulty in botany, recall a few instances of others' attempts and failures in such work. The late Asa Gray labored at intervals during more than a half-century of his career on the problems of the identity of *A. Tradescanti, A. miser,* and others like them. As to the first of these two, in 1843 he was confident that the name belonged to a certain very common *Aster* equivalent to the *A. vimineus* of Lamarck;[1] a conclusion which he had reached after a laborious examination of all the data to be found in European libraries, herbaria and botanic gardens. More than forty years later, and presumably profiting by riper experience—or possibly after having lost somewhat of the earlier zeal for careful critical work—he assigns the name *A. Tradescanti* to a widely different species,[2] admitting the one which he had called by that name all his life and had taught others so to call, to be a species distinct. Similarly with this other, the *A. miser;* during the greater part of his lifetime, in all his works, he designated a certain very common and widely dispersed *Aster* by that name, asserting that this must have been the plant so named by Linnæus; then in his last masterpiece of systematic botany, he assigns this thing another name, even declaring his belief that the *Aster miser* of Linnæus was a fiction, and the name to be dropped out of botany; and yet that *Aster miser* was an *Aster* which Linnæus described somewhat fully. Other like examples of great and scholarly botanists' biblographic failures, I

[1] See Torr & Gray, Fl. N. Am. ii. 128 (1841).
[2] Syn. Fl. N. Am. 187 (1884).

forebear to mention. But this kind of investigation must go on, and on, until the truth is reached, and shown to be the truth.

The illustrative problems herein presented should, however, serve as a strong intimation to the younger and less experienced of our taxonomists of the magnitude and the complexity of various unavoidable bibliographic problems. And they are extremely numerous. Almost an infinitude of them will be found attending new effort to classify plants and establish the species under the names which belong to them according to priority.

Under that strong revival of interest in botany amongst us, to which I made allusion at the outset, it is being shown in many published revisions, that many genera which, for a hundred years anterior to our day, were deemed monotypical, or consisting of only two or three species, contain demonstrably twice or thrice as many—species which our forefathers indistinctly knew, but confused as one. But this excellent work of patient, persistent field study and comparison, and consequent segregation, however necessary, can not proceed securely as to the nomenclature of the species, nor will the labored revisions of genera be found stable in all their results, unless more care shall be used than has been used, in ascertaining which and what of the newly offered segregates are really the old original species.

Great difficulty is by no means always incident to the determining, bibliographically, the earlier published plant-species; and perhaps not many of the difficulties which one meets with in such work are really insuperable. Moreover, what to one botanist may seem a complete bibliographic enigma, another may solve with ease. Here much may depend upon a thorough study—literary study—of different botanical authors. And no man, however keen his botanical eye, or how thorough his field knowledge of the group of plants he may have in hand, should trust himself as able to make out the written history of the species, unless he have much more than a mere smattering of the Latin language.

As I have already shown, the actual determination of hundreds of the Linnæan plant species depends upon some descrip-

tion given by those classic authors, Dodonæus, Ray, Bauhin, Clusius, Plukenet, Micheli, Dillenius, Haller, Le Vaillant, and Gronovius, from whose large and in most cases well written volumes Linnæus in the main compiled his own small and cheap ones. Those sources of almost all the Linnæan botany are all in Latin; a language which each one of those worthies knew so well that each wrote it in his own style. Each of them has, in a degree, his own terminology, too. And, by the way, to Linnæus, the pupil of these greater pre-Linnæans, must be given the praise of having labored very successfully to bring about an unification of descriptive terminology. That was one of the very great services which he rendered to our science. But, we must bear it in mind that, when turning back to a page of Dodonæus, or of Ray, or of Dillenius cited by Linnæus, and thus seeking to ascertain by the earlier author's more full description just what plant Linnæus had in view, we must know how to construe the older author; must have that acquaintance with his style, and with the meaning he attaches to a given botanical term, which comes only by a somewhat special, and partly philological, study of that author.

Just as the master of Latin philology must have close acquaintance with each one of the ancient Latin authors, so should every botanical scholar who would perfectly understand Linnæus, be somewhat philologically familiar with every one of those standard pre-Linnæan authors to whose descriptions of plants Linnæus refers us on every page of his. And so I reiterate it; that a bibliographical problem which nineteen professed botanists may successively have failed to solve, the twentieth man may solve; so much may depend upon the combination of thorough phytological, with accomplished bibliographical skill and knowledge.

I may thus far have seemed to imply that our bibliographic difficulties begin and end with the treatment of Linnæan plant species. I must not leave the impression that such is my meaning. And in order that I may suggest a wider application of much that I have been saying, let me revert to the topic of our Asters.

I said that Linnæus published some eighteen of our species,

the greater proportion of which are not to be identified at all except by a careful study of pre-Linnæan pages, and that several of them seem impossible to be determined by any means at all. But what is more discouraging is the fact that, in the next generation of botanists after Linnæus—the generation to which Aiton, La Marck and Willedenow belonged,—the number of American *Aster* species was more than trebled, in publications by the three authors I have named. And two of these authors were so hampered by Linnæan notions about the necessity of extreme brevity in diagnosis, that their Aster names are little better than *nomina nuda.* They did not really describe any of their species; and they could not refer to older descriptions, or early published figures, as Linnæus had been able to do. Their *Aster* species were mostly actually new; a thing which can hardly be said of any of those given by Linnæus; but to determine what the plants really are, to which they assigned names, is doubtless in many instances quite impossible. And what is true of the written history of this genus, is, in a measure, true of many another genus with which we botanists of America, at present, and in the future shall have to deal, whose species we shall have to determine, and the names of which, according to priority, we shall have to declare.

These last hints of bibliographic difficulty, I have offered with no view of showing how to seek solution of them. I have merely wished to intimate that they exist, and in lamentable abundance. Their very existence is ignored by some of our otherwise most promising promoters of systematic botany, the literature and taxonomy and nomenclature of which they may be leading, unwittingly, into still more hopelessly complicated and inextricable confusion.

EDWARD L. GREENE.

SOME ASPECTS OF AN AMERICAN ESSAYIST.

Those results of meditation, to which the French give the name of "Pensées," are not common in English literature. The mention of them at once recalls Pascal and Vauvenargues—to whom Voltaire was so much indebted—de la Rochefoucauld, the Abbé Roux and a half dozen professed writers of the more or less epigrammatic "Thought" or "Reflection." George Meredith has tried to make the epigram an integral part of style, with much the same effect as Carlyle's attempt to be unusual. But outside of Emerson and Bishop Spalding no writer in America occurs to the mind as a maker of aphorisms; and when it is a question of the form which the latter has adopted for his principal prose works, we find it described as "epigrammatic," "aphoristic," or "axiomatic." It is true that it partakes of all three,—to which may be edded the qualities which make prose poetic,—warmth of imagination and music of rhythm. But, in the consideration of Bishop Spalding's prose, which has caused many amazing comparisons, the key of the enigma is lost unless we remember that the prose of his essays is the prose of an orator. Essentially, it does not resemble the prose of any modern, except Emerson. And the cause of this resemblance lies in the fact that the methods of construction employed by both Emerson and Spalding are no doubt similar. And the prose of Emerson and the prose of Spalding appear to have been written to be spoken. When Pascal says: "Les inventions des hommes vont en avançant de siècle en siècle. La bonté et la malice du monde en général est de même," and then breaks off to assert that "La force est la reine du monde, et non pas l'opinion; l'opinion est celle qui use de la force,"[1] we know that these aphorisms were made to be read. When Spalding says: "If thou take more pleasure in seeing thy prejudices overcome by truth than in finding arguments to confirm thee in them, thy studies shall cheer thee and lead thee to fairer words," and adds: "Cremo-

[1] Pensées de Pascal, p. 209: Paris: Garnier.

nini, hearing that Galileo had discovered the moons of Jupiter, refused to turn his telescope to the planet, lest he should find that Aristotle had been wrong,'' we are sure that these words are to be uttered aloud.

When De Quincey and Ruskin make their long periods, we are aware at once that they are intended for the closet; and no student can get at the secret of Bishop Spalding's style without serious attention to the manner in which he uses his tools to attain his object. In truth, no criticism of literary form is valid unless the critic can get at the artistic intention of the writer; and the most essential canon of the artist is that he may not utter at random, but must be completely master of the power of his phrase. Whether consciously or unconsciously, Bishop Spalding is, in this respect, a thorough artist. Style, he says somewhere, is the thought itself forcing its way to the light; but no style could be, more thoroughly than his own, against the theory that the mute Milton must speak sooner or later; for it is the result of careful practice, directed according to the surest canons of literary expression. He has solved the problems which have vexed many artists in letters,—how to denude the oration of those tricks which make it possible only when spoken,—how to make the spoken word impress the reader as it impressed the hearer. This problem Lowell solved in his famous ''Democracy,'' and Spalding has done it, too, even more effectually, in his four books, ''Education and the Higher Life,'' ''Things of the Mind,'' ''Means and Ends of Education,'' and ''Thoughts and Theories of Life and Education.''

In the first of these volumes, in the article on ''Self-Culture,''[1] he says: ''As the painter takes pallet and brust, the musician his instrument, each to perfect himself in his art, so he who desires to learn how to think should take the pen, and day by day write something of the truth, the hope and faith, which make him a living man.'' Here we have the theory on which Bishop Spalding has found his unique style; it is a protest against ''art for art's sake,'' but it does not ignore art; it makes it necessary. If, with him the style is the man, as well as the word, it has become so only after that stern

[1] A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

apprenticeship, that incessant and sometimes despairing practice which enters into the life of every artist. "And it will frequently happen," he had already said, "that there will be permanent value in what is written, not to please the crowd or to flatter a capricious public opinion, or to win gold or applause, but simply in the presence of God and one's soul to bear witness to truth."

The artist in letters badly needs this message, since the clamor of the time for new things draws him, in spite of his better self, into the glare and the struggle of a social condition which his brother of a statelier time, when letters were aristocratic, did not know. The public demands, and the author answers until his voice, once so rich and full, grown so in the great silence which produces the best, becomes a thin falsetto. He must sing over and over again, with no time for growth, and with variations, the song that the people like.

The methods of Bishop Spalding, as one easily discovers through internal evidence, are practical protests against inartistic work; it is not difficult to trace the processes by which his style has been formed or the means by which his thoughts have been developed. Sincerity, the absence of selfishness, in the sense which makes that word mean the contemplation of self, and simplicity of utterance, are marked characteristics of his intention and manner. The great difficulty in the way of the student of the technique of his work has been that of comparison with other writers. Every author of importance has his literary pedigree; he has also a system for the development of his technique quite as stringent as that of the athlete. We can trace the philosophy of Bishop Spalding and be astonished at the wonderful power of synthesis, by which the systems merge into logical sequence, and at the unerring knowledge by which he detects the evil in them while retaining the good; the student, however, who can easily find the literary genealogy of Newman and Tennyson, Emerson, Mallock and Lilly, begins at once to make the conclusion that Bishop Spalding is an imitator of Emerson. There is a superficial resemblance; both feed deeply on Plato and Montaigne; both write the conclusions of thinking, and both leave the means by which these conclusions are reached to the imagination of the reader.

It is plain that both have adopted the legend "no day without a line," and that they accumulate a vast amount of material in this way; but here the resemblance ends. Emerson has no firmer basis for his ethical demands than Spencer; he loves or fears no gods, and the meaning of his great predecessors thus escapes him. St. Augustin and St. Thomas are not of his ancestors, nor is Dante; but Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus are. Emerson sees all things through a frosty mist; he shows us a dim rainbow, but points out no bridge between us and that arch of light; the past does not exist for him, because he lacked the imagination and feeling necessary to the realization of it. He is of the present,—of the New World entirely, getting, through his own personality, meanings out of the great masters which were not always in them. In this way he made them his own; few writers are more literary and few less philosophical than Emerson.

Emerson saw the rainbow of the ideal and assumed the attitude of its priest and worshipper, but the fire in his temple was of green wood, so that between the smoke and the frosty mist the beauty of his object is obscured. Nevertheless we Americans owe much to him, for he was no materialist, and so long as he is read, our country cannot become "a sort of Chinese Empire, with three hundred millions of human beings, and not a divine man or woman." Indeed, the debt that this United States of America owes to Emerson must always be very great; and if he is not potent at present, it is because our world is going further from his ideals of living, and because he offers no solid, religious basis for his ethical demands.

Bishop Spalding, on the other hand, is compact of imagination and feeling. Not only has he the glow of vital and passionate conviction, but the premises of his conclusions are so firm that he does not need to express them. It is not necessary that he should prove the existence of Christ, God and Man, or the spotlessness of the Mother of God. It does not go with his temperament or with the temperament of his people that he shall utter terms of endearment every time he alludes to the Redeemer or the Co-Redemptrix. Every page he writes is fulgent with the glow from faith. It is with the result of Christianity,—with the appreciation of the teachings of the

Catholic Church that he concerns himself. In him, faith fuses the heart and the mind. In "Ideals," he says: "Whatever may be said in praise of culture, of its power to make its possessor at home in the world of the best thought, the purest sentiment, the highest achievements of the race; of the freedom, the mildness, the reasonableness of the temper it begets; of its aim at completeness and perfection, it is nevertheless true, that if it be sought apart from faith in God and devotion to man, its tendency is to produce an artificial and unsympathetic character. The primal impulse of our nature is to action; and unless we can make our thought a kind of deed, it seems to be vain and unreal; and unless the harmonious development of all the endowments which make the beauty and dignity of human life, give us new strength and will to work with God for the good of men, sadness and a sense of failure fall upon us. To have a cultivated mind, to be able to see things on many sides, to have wide sympathy and power of generous appreciation,—is most desirable, and, without something of all this, not only is our life narrow and uninteresting, but our energy is turned in wrong directions, and our very religion is in danger of losing its catholicity." He admits with St. Paul that "knowledge puffeth up," bue he also makes the distinction which prevents the indolent from quoting the apostle of the Gentiles in defense of ignorance.

Emerson is too often, like Pascal, merely a writer of aphorisms, unconnected expressed without even unseen logical links. This is never so apparent as when we compare Spalding with him. Emerson is often a conscious maker of phrases, and he would be an epigrammist, did he ever aim to be witty. Pascal and Vauvenargues and La Rochefoucauld and the Abbé Roux write "Pensées" as a man writes a sonnet, with intense regard for the form; Emerson has this regard for form, too—but it is merely that the form should be oracular; therefore nearly all his essays are made up of deliverances of the moment without regard to the binding thread of syllogism that should underlie all convincing work. His thoughts are brilliants, imbedded in enamel, never touching one another. In Bishop Spalding's essays,—the essays of an orator—this syllogistic thread is always there.

[1] Education and the Higher Life, p. 21.

The young and the eager, the old and the weary, demand two opposite forms of expression. And the expression of both Emerson and Spalding appeals more to the young than to the old;—because the imagination is vivid in the young. But the tendency of the art of printing is to induce us to demand that our thinking shall be done for us in sight. Emerson does not answer to this, because he reflects light on a certain thought of Plato or Montaigne's,—and his task is done with the flash. Spalding's thoughts are chained to the central thesis. Like the links of an anchor, stretched from a wharf to a boat, they may be hidden under myriad sparkles, but they are solid and true. Like all poets, whether they write in prose or verse, Bishop Spalding is a philosopher; but is he less an artist? One can best explain the apparent defect of his Emersonian abruptness and lack of sequence by drawing an illustration from the art of painting in the words of Vernon Lee.[1] We see in time, she says, as much as in space, so that much must be left to the imagination. "Titian, for instance, painted a background to the 'Sacred and Profane Love' whose light is considerably later on in the afternoon than the light in the figures of the foreground; and Lotto puts a moon and moonlit landscape behind his wicked turbaned lady with the stone-pinks, (his masterpiece at Bergamo) while illuminating his face with the last daylight. The color of the two halves of the picture seems rather to turn our soul to a chord, as it were of harmonious feeling, a chord of rapidly succeeding notes like the great ground-out chords of an organ, instead of pitching it to a meagre unison. For pictures like these are painted to please our soul by means of the eye, not to convince our eye idly, with no profit to our soul."

Bishop Spalding paints his pictures for the soul; but he does not paint them for the inert soul. He has disdain for those who read only as they run. "A woman," he says, "cannot hope to make a sage or a saint or a hero of the man who loves her, but she may of the child." The sentence ends here ; he takes up the thread of the thought with "Contempt of women is the mark of a crude mind or of a corrupt heart. There is the link,—or many links, according to the activity of

[1] "Imagination in Modern Art:" *The Fortnightly Review*, October, 1897.

one's own mind—between these sentences. He returns to the child and to the influence of the mother: "What strength is there not in the rich joyfulness of youth, bursting forth into glad song and laughter, and passing lightly away from hardship and disappointment, out again to where the glorious sunshine plays upon the rippling waters and happy flowers. The very memory of it all comes back to us like a message from God to bid us be stout of heart and keep growing. Those we love sanctify for us the places where they have lived; the spots even where they have passed are sacred."[1]

Through each essay in these four volumes we can trace, beneath the abundance of aphorisms and the wealth of illustration, the thesis. And this makes one of the important differences that distinguish the two great American writers who raise their voices for plain living and high thinking. The thesis in each essay is boldly and directly stated; it appears and reappears; it shines and glows; it is darkened for a time, only to glance out of the shadows; it is a running brook hidden at times beneath foliage till it gathers into a cascade, but it is always the same stream. Bishop Spalding uses the privilege of the orator and reiterates under every possible form the truths he is forced to utter. In the first chapter of his[2] latest book, he announces the central thought, which he does not lose sight of. "In the course of ages there have been a few in whose company it is possible to think high thoughts in a noble spirit; but there has been and is but one with whom it is possible to lead the life of the soul and feel that it is like the life of God,—he is the Master Jesus Christ, who alone makes us understand and realize that God is our Father, and that our business on earth is to grow into the divine image by right living and doing.[3] The deeper and purer one's religion, the higher and richer his moral life; and as moral worth increases, faith in God is confirmed." The "Leitmotif" comes again and again; he plays it softly,—then he brings it out thunderously, fugue on fugue. "Though thou thyself fail, rejoice that it has been given to another to do nobly; for if thou art capable of envy, thou art incapable of wisdom. Since

[1] "Things of the Mind:" Views of Education, p. 22.
[2] Thoughts and Theories of Life and Education. Chicago, 1897.
[3] Ibid, p. 18.

truth is the highest, being the center of goodness and love, truthfulness is the best. If God has made thee capable of doing any real thing, thou must do it, or in all eternity it will not be done. The highest is for thee, since God wills to give Himself to thee."

In the light of faith, who can go to Carlyle for sympathy or consolation? With the great Scotch colorist. "God wills to give Himself to thee" would be a mere phrase. The traces, not only of German scholarship, but of Germanic construction, are visible in all Spalding's prose work. The influences of Goethe and the best of Kant are evident in many places. Bishop Spalding recognizes the sanctity that each had not lost and could not lose. The effect of the Germanic word-study is to dissipate the Latin haze which hangs about the sentences of too many ecclesiastics who achieve their philosophy only through the old Roman tongue. Though the cadence of the paragraph is sometimes Germanic, the phrase is never affected, and ease of apprehension is greatly helped by the direct Englishing of thoughts which would have been obscure if Latinized. Occasionally one wonders why Bishop Spalding does not take advantage of the German cadence to slip in a compound word or two, and thus become a pioneer in the restoration of valuable forms which the Anglo-Saxon, in its process of change, has almost irretrievably lost.

The longing for simplicity that permeates Wordsworth runs through these essays. Some passages remind us of Wordsworth's sonnet against the substitution of pictures for plain type in periodicals,—

> "Avaunt this vile abuse of pictured page,
> Must eyes be all in all, the tongue and ear
> Nothing? Heaven keep us from a lower stage."[1]

Bishop Spalding's plea for the simple life has not the passionate insistence of Wordsworth; it seems, in truth, to have somewhat of the aristocratically intellectual tone of Horace; but study will show us that the recurrence is due not to the mere personal intellectual disdain for the vulgar, but to the serious belief that the best props of patriotism are elevation of the mind and frugal living. Bishop Spalding does not seem

[1] Illustrated Books and Papers: Poems of Wm. Wordsworth; p. 184.

to consider doubt or the paralysis that comes of doubt; he seems to see that few men really doubt the eternal verities. He holds that materialism, the pride of life, the lust of power, —what are called by the Philistine facts of life, are the real dangers to human happiness. He does not shriek against the Philistine, like Heine and Matthew Arnold; he is too serious for that. He faces popular fallacies with calmness, but with penetrating eyes that hold no pity for lies or shams. The idols held up by the newspapers are scorned by him; wealth is good as an instrument for the higher development of the man; he hears that Americans love education for all as the core of their hearts, and he disperses this mock nimbus with "When we Americans shall have learned to believe with all our hearts and with all the strength of irresistible conviction that a true educator is a more important, in every way a more useful, sort of man than a great railway king, or pork butcher, or captain of industry, or grain buyer, or stock manipulator, we shall have begun to make ourselves capable of perceiving the real scope of public school education."[1]

What wise American believes that legislation will cure the present evils of society? What observant man regards the increase of wealth and the inordinate desire for it as guarantees of the stability of the state? Or seriously holds that the organization of many will solve problems which, Christianity teaches us, can only be answered by the heart of each man? Bishop Spalding sees that the remedy which many of our legislators, our educators, and even our preachers, pretend not to see lies in the application of a higher standard to the realities of personal life. Where every boy is expected to grow rich or fail to reach the average American ideal, such teaching as that of Bishop Spalding will not be heard eagerly or received with plaudits. The strength of the early Americans lay in the disregard of the little wants for the greater needs. "Wordsworth was praised to me in Westmoreland," writes Emerson in his essay on "Culture," "for having afforded to his country neighbors an example of a modest household where comfort and culture were secured without display. And a tender boy who wears his rusty cap and outgrown coat, that he may

[1] Scope of Public School Education, p. 150.

secure the coveted place in college and the right in the library, is educated to some purpose. There is a great stock of self-denial and manliness in poor and middle-class houses, in town and country, that has not got into literature and never will, but that keeps the earth sweet; that saves in superfluities and spends on essentials; that goes rusty and educates the boy; that sells the horse, but builds the school; works early and late, takes two looms in the factory, three looms, six looms, but pays off the mortgage on the paternal farm, and then goes back cheerfully to work again."

There has been much heard of late about farm mortgages, but anything like this method of paying them off has not been seriously considered. In the stories of rural life in America, which are supposed to represent things in a better state—the Kansas or Missouri mortgage is generally paid off by good luck in a horse race or a fortunate stroke in speculation. Bishop Spalding echoes the Spartan cry of Emerson, as Emerson echoed it from the experience of every nation that has lived. It was the lesson that Joseph, the foster-father of our Lord taught, as he worked in wood.[1] "Wealth and numbers we have," the Bishop writes, "and all the strength which material civilization can give. What we lack is a new man to represent fitly this new world. Great things must be enhanced by great characters, or matter will prevail over spirit, and the soul become inferior to its setting. The special vice of the American is the breathless haste with which he works for success, which he generally takes to mean money. Whatever is restful, as reflection and mediation, gives him qualms of conscience; he is ashamed to be at leisure. He thinks, watch in hand, as he eats, with his eye on the daily market report. He seems always afraid lest he forget or neglect something, and so miss an opportunity to make a dollar. This workingman's haste, this alertness for a chance to turn a penny, is fatal to distinction of thought and behavior; it destroys the sense for form, proportion, and grace. Hence, this type of American in all the relations of life is quick, sharp and abrupt. In his intercourse with friends and relations, with women and children, he is preoccupied by thoughts of business, and seems

[1] Things of the Mind: Patriotism, p. 230.

to say: 'Appreciate my politeness, for time is money.' His natural inclination is to marry a wife with as little ceremony as he buys a horse. Joyful occasions are almost as unwelcome to him as the sad, for both alike are interruptions of business. If he is poor, he works with the hope of becoming rich; if he is rich, he works from dread of poverty. He can not take recreation without apology, as though he should say, 'I beg pardon, but my health or my wife's health requires this of me.' He writes a letter in the style of a telegram, and would prefer to talk only through a telephone from fear of being buttonholed. He looks forward to the time when he shall travel a hundred instead of fifty miles an hour, and in his rapid journeys he is all the while thinking or talking of business or politics, which for him is mainly a question of finance. The men in whom he takes interest are money men and politicians. . . . A book, a preacher, a play, like a mine or a railway, are worth what they will sell for in the market. What is dear is fine, and he will even submit to all sorts of discomfort, if it is expensive. . . . We lack self-control, and are borne forward by this material movement, as the crest is carried by the wave. We have lost relish for a life which is simple, pure, moderate and healthful."

These are words of truth, fitly spoken. "If we love our country," the essayist goes on to say, "let us not be afraid to speak even unpleasant truth in this age when it has grown to be the fashion to lie to the people, as formerly men lied to kings."

Bishop Spalding has been accused of leaning towards the modern German philosophers—Kant and Hegel—by critics who frighten children with these names, just as the Saracen mothers horrified their offspring by threatening them with the devilish English led by the Lion-Hearted. He plucks the good from these men and he recognizes their genius, as one may recognize the genius of Heine without approving of his political opinions; his Catholicity and catholicity give him a power over American minds which few of us possess.[1] "A man of learning without philosophy," he says, "is, according

[1] Thoughts and Theories of Life and Education, p. 160.

to Kant, but a mathematical, historical, philological, geographical, or astronomical Cyclops. He lacks an eye."

Accodring to Bishop Spalding, the one quality needed for the truest patriotism is that the citizen should be a man.[1] "To imagine, then, that we educate when we do nothing but sharpen the intellect is a shallow conceit. Wiser than the knowing are they who feel God's presence and man's sacredness, and who walk in lowliness of spirit. Dost thou think it desirable to be born rich or to attain political or commercial distinction and influence? Canst thou not see that they who are born rich, or who attain political or commercial distinction, rarely become true men, but lack the best insight and the highest virtue? Be thankful, then, for what in thy youth thou didst hold to be disadvantages and obstacles; for to them thou owest thy vocation to the pursuit of knowledge and the striving for excellence."

This is not palatable counsel; it is not the basis of popular education; all youth in America is not taught to believe it; but what higher lesson can youth learn?

He who can hold, after reading Bishop Spalding, that the influence of the Church in this country is for repression of the best in man or for the development of the worst in society and politics, must not be like Kant's unphilosophical Cyclops, but utterly blind. Sufficient has been said to sketch one or two aspects of the most serious and many-sided of all American essayists,—of whom one may say, as Principal Shairp said of Newman,[2] that "his power shows itself chiefly in the new and unlooked-for way in which he touches into life old truths, moral or spiritual, which all Christians acknowledge, but most have ceased to feel."

MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN.

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[1] Ibid. p. 59.

[2] Principal Shairp's "Studies in Poetry," quoted in Newman's "My Campaign in Ireland."

THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF JUSTICE AND EQUALITY.[1]

I. Principles.

Any study of the idea of justice must commence with recalling to mind two primary and simple truths, truths that will be very generally admitted on all sides. The first is that justice is a rule of conduct for man. The second is that man's conduct being a process of advance towards some end, its regulation will be conformable to the nature of that end. For a true and thorough conception of justice therefore, it is necessary to learn what is the end of man, for on the position of the end depends the direction of the lines leading thereto,—tendency toward the end being the primary and fundamental norm of human operations, giving to all laws origin and character. And since the end of a being and that being's nature are intimately correlated and mutually determine and affect one another, consideration of man's end will commence with consideration of human nature.

Law. The creation of man by an intelligent Maker implied that man should have an end. Now upon this end of existence, as we have said, depends the nature given to man by God; for as the great seventeenth century jurisconsult said, "*connaitre la fin d'une chose c'est simplement savoir pourquoi elle est faite; et on connait pourpuoi une chose est faite si voyant comme elle est faite on découvre à quoi sa structure peut se rapporter, parce'qu'il est certain que Dieu a proportionné la nature de chaque chose à la fin pour laquelle il l'a destinée.*[2] Hence there must be a natural law, that is a rule based on man's nature, and directing his actions in a way conformable thereto. Between man's nature and man's end there was, of course, a divine proportion, and this proportion having been established, the Creator laid down, or rather the very essence of things necessitated, the indication

[1] This article forms part of the Licentiate dissertation of the author, in which the Christian and the Socialistic ideas of justice and equality were compared at length.

[2] Domat, *Traité des Lois*, Ch. I.

of a line of action or law by which man could attain his last end.[1]

Moral and Right. This natural law reason perceives with greater or less clearness under different circumstances, but cannot be blind to its primary principles. And as the human will necessarily and instinctively struggles for happiness and satisfaction in its end, it cannot refuse to approve those principles. Hence, the will ought to obey, and therefore it is said to be under moral constraint to perform the acts indicated.[2]

Thus arises the primitive notion of obligation.[3] Now, the Creator having given man an end necessarily willed the means that make for its attainment. It follows that man has divine sanction for seeking to exercise all activities whose use leads to his destined perfect development. Such a sanction constitutes a right in the human being, or a moral power,—and any undue interference with said power would conflict with the established order of things. This is the primary conception of right—man's power of acting in accord with his established end. The fundamental basis of human rights is, therefore in the fact of man's creation by God with a certain end and a command to attain that end.[4] In one word, since God wills a certain order He also wills what is implied in the preservation of that order.[5]

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[1] Cf. St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica* I. II ae q. 93. a. 1. and St. Augustine, *Contr. Faust.* XXII. 30.

[2] The following, from the *De Republica,* is worth quoting here: "Est quidem vera lex, recta ratio, naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna. Huic legi neque prorogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest. Nec vero aut per Senatum, aut per Populum solvi hac lege possumus, neque est quaerendus explanator aut interpres ejus alius. Nec enim alia lex Romae, alia Athenis alia nunc, alia posthac, sed et omnes gentes, et omni tempore illa lex et sempiterna et immortalis continebit."

[3] Omne enim agens agit propter finem, qui habet rationem boni. Et ideo primum principium in ratione practica est quod fundatur supra rationem boni, quae est: *bonum est quod omnia appetunt.* Hoc est ergo primum preceptum legis, quod *bonum est faciendum et prosequendum et malum vitandum,* et super hoc fundantur omnia alia praecepta legis naturae, ut scilicet omnia illa facienda vel vitanda pertineant ad praecepta legis naturae, quae ratio practica naturaliter apprehendit esse bona humana. Quia vero bonum habet rationem finis, malum autem rationem contrarii, inde est quod omnia illa ad quae homo habet naturalem inclinationem, ratio naturaliter apprehendit ut bona, et per consequens ut opere prosequenda, et contraria eorum ut mala et vitanda." St. Thomas, Sum. Theol., I. II ae q. 94, a. 2.

[4] Cf. Instit. Juris Naturalis, Th. Meyer, t. I. no. 497.

[5] It may be noted that the above exposition of principles avails against the system of "positive morality." Right has the same foundation as good, viz.: the law expressed by God in nature. Hence, we are in clear opposition to those who make either human agreement, or State authority the rule of what is just and unjust, good and evil. Cf. T. Bouquillon, Theologia Fundamentalis, p. 199.

But the perfect notion of right, includes a second idea, besides the simple notion of moral power namely, a relation *ad extra.* Man, in moving toward his end, is independent of creatures and can be subordinated to none; the consequence of this is that he is enabled to secure at least negative coöperation from them inasmuch as they must not interfere with the exercise of his faculties in a way that will efficaciously secure attainment of his end. Right, in consequence when fully understood, implies a relation with fellow creatures. We may say that this is really the distinctive note between right and good, the juridical and the moral. Human right and human good, with respect to God having the same basis of *ratio,* are not differentiated. Man has the right to do, he should do whatever will help toward his end. But the concept of power brings into view the notion of other persons, against or over whom we possess a moral power, and this power represents the lawful exclusion of them from hindering our advance toward our end.

This fact, then, will confine rights to the field of social relations. For the natural law we must observe, is to be separated into several distinct divisions,—divisions based upon consideration of man's constitution and faculties. In examining man we find that he comes from God as a prime cause and is destined for Him as a last end. The first provision of the natural law, consequently, is directed to regulating his relation with God. Again, we find man endowed with various faculties, inclinations and affections and so constituted as to be under the guidance of reason whenever he acts as man, that is, *modo humano.* There is, therefore, a second principle of the natural law providing for man's self-control. Thirdly, man by nature is fitted to enter human society, which is for him an absolute necessity; the law of nature, in consequence, provides for the right formation and regulation of social intercourse. Fourthly, man's nature is perfected by the use of lower creatures; a fourth principle, therefore, regulates his relation with these.

Society. We are now led to the consideration of human society.

Society primarily supposes the existence of intelligent be-

ings and their juxtaposition in place and time. This, however, is not sufficient. For the creation of a society there must be union among them, in virtue of a common truth known and a common good willed. And human society will spring from the fact that there is a common end for all men, to be pursued by common means.

And now as to the origin of human society. This has ever been a subject fruitful of debate. Is the formation of society natural or is it voluntary? Is it a necessary or a contingent fact?

Prescinding from the consideration of any particular society we may say that the general fact of society is natural, essential necessary. That is, the idea is necessary, the fact of its application contingent.[1] Man, by an absolute necessity, finds himself in the presence of other men, and both physical and moral necessity constrain him to follow out the bent of his nature and enter upon the relations which give birth to society. Hence it comes that the aggregation and mutual intercouse which eventually constitute the daily life of society come not from any voluntary choice but from an instinct, a natural demand based on the similar nature and destiny of every human being.[2]

It cannot then be maintained that the primitive condition of mankind was one wherein, according to the natural law, there was no social bond. The formation, as well as the first law of social relations, is a deduction from that general principle which we have represented to be the primary precept of the natural law, namely: do good. Nature manifests the will of the Creator and the laws to be obeyed in actions relating to ourselves alone; nature shows us also our duties toward our fellows. Man's reason, perceiving the similar nature and destiny of other men, comprehends that he should act toward them as toward himself, and his conduct will be perfect in proportion as it procures for them the goods sought for himself. The first consequence of the general principle is then the duty to love our neighbor and seek his welfare, as we seek our own. —a similar not an equal love identical in quality, not in quantity; in direction, not in intensity. From this duty

[1] Cf. Gerdil, Phil. Mor. Instit. disp. III. c. I.

[2] Insitum homini natura est, ut in civili societate vivat. Encyc. Leo XIII., Immortale Dei.

spontaneously, and, as it were, unconsciously springs primitive society without the medium of positive compact. Wherefore, we see how false is the contention put forth by Hobbes, who declaring the primeval condition of man to be a *bellum omnium contra omnes,* said that men were driven by fear and selfish interest to the formation of society.[1]

Thus society is the result of the moral order established by the law of nature, creating between men mutual rights and obligations. Given society, man's daily intercouse with man must be determined just as we saw his private conduct was determined, that is to say, by deduction from the primary principle: do good, avoid evil.[2] Man's actions in regard to his fellows will consequently be dominated by the effort to do those things that help, to avoid those things that retard the gaining of their end,—and this in accord with a moral obligation having the same basis as his own rights. Man will be under moral constraint to pursue this specified line of action, this policy, and in his companions will at once arise a claim to have the same observed, that is, a moral faculty or a right. Here then we have the completed notion of a social right, embracing the twofold element, claim and obligation,—power and corresponding duty. The possession of a right gives a claim over an object, or moral freedom to pursue a certain path; other men are bound to keep away from that object, to stand out of that path. This obligation correlative to social right is social duty.

Equality and Inequality. In every man, then the order of nature establishes a number of rights. Every man, too, has various duties. In the harmony of these rights and duties, the satisfying of one by the other we see perfect order, realisation of the ideal social relation—justice. Justice may therefore be defined as the law commanding that to each man be given his rights or his due.[3]

[1] Society, then, is the work of the Author of Nature: "quoniam vero non potest societas ulla consistere, nisi si aliquis omnibus praesit, efficaci similique movens singulos ad commune propositum impulsione, efficitur, civili hominum communitati necessariam esse auctoritatem, qua regatur; quae, non secus ac societas, a natura proptereaque a Deo ipso, oriatur auctore." Encyc. Leo XIII., *Immortale Dei.* Such a power then exists in every society, dispensing justice. The authority primarily lodged in the nation is thence transferred into the hands of representatives. Cf. Suarez, De Legibus, l. III., c. III., No. 1. Bellarmine, De Laicis, t. III., c. VI. St. Thomas, Sum. Theol., I., II ae q. 97, a. 3, ad. 3.

[2] Cfr Gerdil, op. cit. Disp. III.

[3] Cf. St. Thomas II. II. ae. q. 58. a. I.—De Lugo, *de Justitia et Jure,* d. I. s. 1. n. 1. Gerdil, l. c.—Taparelli Essai théorique de droit natural l. II. n. 353.

From the analysis of right given above as the outgrowth of man's nature and end, we see that justice makes all members of the human family equal in rights, for right is a moral faculty—a claim to an undisturbed pursuit of a divinely appointed destiny common to all mankind. This is an undeniable truth, rights are as extensive and as equal as human nature itself, and all social intercourse rests on that principle. Men as men are, by the creation of God, specifically equal. Social justice, consequently, must render them equal in "human" rights just as the Creator has made them equal in its basis—humanity; to see this law observed is the duty of social authority.

But let us remember that we are here speaking of abstract men and so of abstract rights. Both indeed are constructed according to the law of equality. When however our concern comes to be with actual men, that is with concrete members of humanity, individuals, it behooves us to consider that there is by no means an equality. Genius, strength, skill, character, virtue, are all unequal, and we must recognize that men, although specifically equal, are individually unequal. This implies no contradiction, for men though having human nature possess individual qualities, and both enter into the makeup of any one person. Now, we saw that rights are really adaptations of man to his end. Logically therefore rights must differ among men, because different means must be used according as starting points are the same or different. Wherefore since men in the concrete are unlike, their rights will not coincide. The consideration of social rights in the concrete, that is *in actu secundo,* will then give us a different result from the consideration of social rights *in actu primo.*

First, we must remark that when it comes to a question of the concrete, limitation of individual right sets in at once. Right, we saw in its last analysis, includes everything necessary and helpful to the attainment of perfection and destiny, moral liberty to claim everything making towards natural development. But society once established we find ourselves in the presence of an unalterable fact, the individual activity of each man is bound to conflict with the individual activity of other men. And if man cannot exercise his rights without

thereby depriving a fellow of his rights, manifestly there is a deadlock, and the ultimate basis of right ceases to exert any influence because pressing with equal force in two contrary directions. Some way must be found out of the difficulty, and justice will regulate the compromises and limitations that must inevitably ensue.

Here, then, from the very conception of justice arises the necessity that each man so perform actions helping him toward his end as not to prevent similar exercise in others. At once there comes into view a double element characteristic of this new view of justice. On the one hand our positive claim to unimpeded activity and its fruits, on the other the limiting element implied in the presence of other beings with faculties similar to our own. Two things are here noteworthy: First, the negative element, the limitation, will bear on all alike. Secondly, the positive element, the claim to unimpeded activity, will affect different men variously. The general tendency of the diagonal, then, will be away from equality; for the first law of social justice demands that different individuals be treated in a uniform manner, hence various individual abilities must be allowed to work out their result. Parallel with the fact of specific equality, therefore, there will be an individual inequality, and though natures are perfectly equal, in individuals all seems unequal. Adding unequal quantities to equal we shal have unequal sums; so giving to all men their rights as men and their rights as individuals, we shall find them in unequal positions. Let us consider this more in detail.

Essential and Contingent Rights. There is the same difference between rights in the abstract and actual concrete rights as between men in the abstract and individuals. Now, just as humanity is made concrete in the individual by the generation of a particular body and the infusion thereinto of a particular soul, so are human rights given actual existence by a similar process, namely, the execution, or I should say production, of a particular title. A title is a concrete fact determining right over a particular object.[1] Now, the actuation of human rights is of two-fold character. In two ways, St. Thomas tells us, can a thing be naturally adapted to another;

[1] Cf. Th. Meyer, op. cit., I., No. 499.

of itself, and absolutely, or in consequence of some external consideration.[1] So we say that some rights are inseparable from the individual and actually attach to him by the very fact of existence. Instances would be, the right to support life, the right of self-defence, the right to marry. A second set of rights, however, consists of such as do not necessarily attach actually to every individual, but depend for realisation on contingency; such would be, the right of property to a farm. It is evident that in the possession of the first set—essential rights—all men are equal, nature being perfectly impartial in the bestowal of titles to such. What of the second set—contingent rights?

Titles actuating these contingent rights are of two sorts, primitive and derived; primitive titles actuate rights hitherto-non-existent actually; derived titles are those by which actually pre-existent rights are transferred to a person other than the original owner.

If we recognize the nature of titles, we cannot but see that they vary with different men. Take, for instance, the primitive title of labor. Is it not evident that men differ so greatly in strength and skill, that given an equal chance, some man in the shortest possible time will contrive to actuate a few more rights than his fellows. So it is with other primitive titles; and thus we see that in one species of contingent rights, those namely, springing from primitive titles, nature has determined that men shall be unequal. The operation of justice in consequence will necessarily and speedily bring men into a state of inequality. But let us see further and consider the influence of the derived titles on equality. Thus far we have considered men as individually concerned in the actuation of rights. But men are not isolated units, each independent and occupied solely with his individual sphere of action and concerned with his neighbors only so far as to see that they do not violate any of his rights. They are parts of a whole, members of a moral body—human society. In this respect also they

[1] Hoc (quod ex sui natura est adaequatum alteri) potest contingere dupliciter: uno modo secundum absolutam sui considerationem: sicut masculus ex sui ratione habet commensurationem ad feminam ut ex ea generet: et parens ad filium, ut eum nutriat. Alio modo aliquid est naturaliter alteri commensuratum, non secundum absolutam sui rationem, sed secundum aliquid quod ex ipso sequitur, puta proprietas possessionum: si enim consideretur iste ager absolute non habet unde magis sit hujus quam illius. S. Th. II. II ae q. 57. a. 3.

have obligations to fulfil and rights to vindicate, exchanges to make and transactions to regulate. Men as men we have discovered to be equal; men as individuals we saw were made unequal *de facto*. Now it is ours to learn how justice will regulate the mutual standing and active intercourse of individuals as members of the body social, as concerned in intercourse and mutual action, affecting and influencing one another, acquiring, transferring, exchanging rights. In these relations is justice a tendency toward or away from equality? To answer this question, further considerations will be necessary.

JUSTICE. Justice, as it has been exposed, includes three conditions: first, that something be due; secondly, that the satisfaction equal the claim; and thirdly, that two parties be concerned, that is, that it should be directed *add alterum*, for were *debitum*, like *jus*, referred *ad seipsum*, the mutual contrariety of equal forces would result in mutual extinction.[1]

Now there is a threefold order in which these conditions may occur in social relations. Society being an indispensable necessity of man's well-being, it can claim from its members recognition of those rights required for its existence and proper operation. But individuals, on the other hand, have claims for the recognition of their own rights, whether by society or by other individuals. Therefore justice is distinguished as concerned with society's rights, and as concerned with the rights of individuals. The former is called legal justice, for the reason that society gives expression to its rights in laws, by obeying which its members fulfil their duties toward it.[2]

Particular justice concerned with the rights of individuals is to be distinguished into two species according to the division first formulated by Aristotle and adopted by St. Thomas and the School.[3] For the rights of individual members of society may correspond to obligations existing in other individuals or in society itself. Now the order regulating the mutual relations of individuals is called commutative justice, that regulating the satisfaction of individual claims upon society is called distributive justice; the first is concerned with the relation of

[1] Gerdil. Theol. Mor. lib. III., tr. de justitia et jure p. I. c. I.; Lugo. *op. cit.* Disp. I. s. I. n. 19.

[2] St. Thomas, II. II ae q. 58, a. VI. ad 4; et a. VII.

[3] Cf. St. Thomas, Sum. Theol., II. Uae q. 61, a. 1; Lugo *op. cit.* s. III. n. 43.

the whole to its parts, the second with the relation of the parts to one another.[1]

Commutative and distributive justice, though they have in common to equate obligations and rights, that is, *debitum* and *jus,* are nevertheless distinguished in several respects, and this in consequence of the truths above exposed about the distinction between men considered specifically as members of society and men considered as individuals. For men's rights come into play in two ways: first, in the exchange of things for things, where individual peculiarities do not enter into the question at all; secondly, in the sharing of society's goods, where personal merit has its part.

In these transactions between man and man, known by the general name of exchanges, something is given to a person on account of something else received, a *quid pro quo.* Therefore, equality should exist, so that a person receives what he gives, at least equivalently; and justice would be violated did there remain a surplus on either side, for the right of the giver is the same in extent as the thing he has relinquished, and his right becomes extinct on his receiving the same amount. The "medium of justice," consequently, is arithmetic proportion, that is to say, equality. In distribution of common goods on the other hand something is given to a person because he is a part of the body social, and his share should be larger or smaller accordingly as he is a part of greater or less importance to the whole. And therefore in distribution the medium of justice is not arithmetic but geometric proportion, the equality consisting in an equating of reward with merit, payment with service.[2] So to use the illustration of Taparelli,[3] "should two or more sailors associate for the purpose of discovering a new land and begin to dispute for preëminence or for any given office, would it be necessary to bestow the same function upon each? Would quantitative equality be here the rule of justice? Such a thing would be both ridiculous and impossible. In this case the equality would consist in a certain proportion of function to capacity, of recompense to merit. All the real order should correspond as nearly as possible with the ideal proportion of

[1] Cf. Gerdil, *op. cit.,* C. III.
[2] St. Thomas, II. II ae q. 61, a. 2.
[3] *Op. cit.* n. 357.

means to end; to this order each should be content to contribute, by using different means for obtaining the common end."

To sum up the differences, then, between the two species of justice, we must observe: first, that they are concerned with different operations, one regulating distributions, the other exchanges; secondly, the ratio of *debitum* in one instance is taken from the dignity and merit of the claimant, in the other from the thing bestowed; thirdly, the *ratio* of equality varies. For since in commutative justice the *debitum* comes from the thing, there is required an objective equality, that is mathematical—the *debitum* must equal the acceptum. In distributive justice, on the other hand, is required equality of proportion only, since the things distributed need not equal the merits of each claimant, nor these be equal between themselves, but only the more deserving must receive in proportion to his greater merits. Careful study of the operation of both will enable us to understand their influence upon equality among men.

Commutative justice is that regulating the mutual relations of society's members. Its name comes from the fact that the transactions it regulates are exchanges, "commutations." Its medium, that is to say its exact norm, consists in perfect equality. Each of the parties concerned should receive his exact due, that is, the equal of what he has given. If he receives less or more, the exchange, so far as submitted to the bar of justice, is a violation of the norm—though of course by the consent of the parties interested the matter can be withdrawn from the province of strict justice and made a matter of charity or generosity, by one person relinquishing his *rights*.

How will this affect equality? First it will preserve any inequality that may chance already to exist, its tendency being to retain present conditions, and conditions were originally unequal in the actuation of rights through the primitive titles. And sometimes it will even occasion or permit an increase in existing inequalities.

Since commutative justice is to regulate the exchange and indicate the just amount to be given in return for what is received, it must establish some criterion. That criterion or medium, as already explained, consists in an equality. This may be seen, for instance, in a contract of buying and selling,—

emptio-venditio. The process of buying and selling is carried on between commodities very different in nature and not directly comparable; the general criterion of equality consequently can not be applied to weight, quantity, or form. It must be an equality of value, that is, the value of the thing given must equal the value of the thing received. Ordinarily, of course, the exchange is not between commodities, but the medium is translated into money value, the double value, exchange of commodity for money and money back again for commodity being far more convenient than simple barter.[1]

The value of a thing is not something fixed and absolute. It varies with time, place, person, and quantity. It depends not directly on labor embodied, or cost of production, or rarity, but on the utility of the good. And what is more, the value of an individual good (say a horse) cannot be measured according to the utility of horses to men, nor even according to the isolated utility of that particular horse—it will depend not on specific utility, but on marginal utility,—that namely, which would be lost did that individual horse vanish. We may conclude from this that value being thus variable, a transaction executed according to the law of commutative justice may be the occasion of inequality. For after I have made an exchange, any fall in the market value of my commodity will necessarily and irremediably lessen the material possessions, so far as social intercourse and trade are in question.

And then, again, we must recognize that though there may be a standard average market value, nevertheless this is no sure indication of a thing's value to different men. Hence A may obtain a commodity from B, paying the latter according to the common value, which is also B's value. This thing, however, may be of double that value to A, because under existing circumstances it is the repository of that much greater utility. Here again enters an inequality, an occasion too of a transaction ruled according to the demands of commutative justice.[2]

And besides thus occasioning inequality, it may also hap-

[1] St. Thomas, II. II ae q. 61, a. 4.

[2] Si aliquis multum juveter ex re alterius quam accepit, ille vero qui vendit, non damnificetur carendo re illa, non debet eam supervendere, quia utilitas quae alteri accrescit, non est ex vendente, sed ex conditione ementis. I. II ae q. 77, a. 1.

pen that commutative justice will permit that an exchange shall create still more glaring inequality,—the case being one where there is no objective equality of value between the thing given and that received, and the exchange is objectively unjust. In certain conditions such a transaction may be allowed on the principle of commutative justice. Take, for instance, the matter of wages when labor is superabundant; in order to obtain the preference as regards employment the laborer can yield up part of his due recompense, and so, in a contract formally just, suffer from the infliction of a new inequality.[1]

We may easily perceive that distributive justice will actually and steadily tend toward the increase of inequality. Distributive justice is that which regulates the distribution of honors and privileges by the community to private persons. Its medium is not mathematical, but geometrical proportion. For in distributive justice things are given to a private person in so far as what belongs to the whole is due in a measure to the parts; the share being greater or lesser in proportion as the part in question is of greater or lesser importance to the whole. Distributive justice exacts that common goods and common burdens be distributed according to merit and desert. And therefore in distributive justice the medium is not in the equality of thing with thing, but in proportion of thing to person, so that in so far as one excels another he will receive a larger share.

It is needless to comment upon this. No one will fail to see that men being of such different abilities and consequent importance to the community their share of the goods at its disposal will tend to make them occupy unequal positions in life. And with this, our investigation into the law of justice seems to have discovered practical precepts sufficiently numerous, clear, and specific. The result of what we have learned we may thus sum up in the words of the Supreme Pontiff, in his letter against the Masons, *Humanum Genus*: "That all men are equal, one to another, no one doubts, if there be question of common race and common nature, the destiny

[1] Carius vendere vel vilius emere rem quam valeat est secundum se in justum et illicitum . . . Alio modo possumus loqui de emptione et venditione, secundum quod per accidens cedit in utilitatem unius . . . puta cum aliquis multum indiget habere rem aliquam, l. c —Cf. Revue Thomiste, July, 1896, art. Theorie du juste salaire, par R. P. Mercier.

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appointed for each and the rights and duties attaching thereto. But since all cannot be equal in ability, since each differs from the other in powers of body and soul, since in habits, inclinations, and dispositions all vary greatly, nothing is less reasonable than the wish to include every one in a single grouping and introduce absolute equality into the affairs of civil life. As the perfect body is made up of the union of different members which, varying among themselves both in appearance and in use, when set in their several places make up a whole, beautiful and strong, so too, in the human state there is as it were an infinite variety of parts which, if they are considered equal and each allowed to follow his own bent, will make the state as deformed as could possibly be; but if in their several grades of learning, dignity, and art, they work in harmony for the attainment of a common good they will present the appearance of a state well constituted and in accord with nature."

II.—Deductions.

The principles we have exposed, if properly understood and applied, will give very definite shape and meaning to our aspirations for the weal of humanity, and will throw strong light on the problems which by their depth and moment are now perplexing men. It is true our theological reasoning has justified the existing order thus far, it cannot be decried as essentially unlawful on account of failing to place every man in the same position as his fellows. But far be it from us to intimate that the present condition of society is perfect, or that the common and chief activities of the day are usually conducted with due respect for the precepts of social justice. Let us reconsider the fundamental truths exposed and we shall see the conclusions deducible therefrom.

Property. Take first the Catholic teaching on the nature and origin of human rights. It shows the basis of right to be one with that of morality. Only that which is moral can be just. Therefore, we learn all rights are essentially moral in character, putting man in possession of certain faculties as a means for the working out of his destiny, and any exercise of power incompatible with such purpose, since it is immoral, is also, and of necessity, unlawful and unjust. Such is the Catholic

conception of a human right. Let it be thoroughly grasped and brought home to the mind and it will afford a starting-point for the most effective of reforms against oppression,—it will be as a pillar of iron and a wall of brass resisting the inroads of inordinate selfishness and lust of gain.

But, it may be said, there is a primary objection to this position from the fact that the very concept of private property is incompatible with the principles above laid down,—the individualistic organization of society being built upon selfish and unethical lines. We reply that the objection contains a false assumption. Granted that fact, the objection will hold good, but in the absence of proof it must admit of flat contradiction. Private property is not a social inconvenience. On the contrary, that it is beneficial to the human race reason, experience, and common consent unite to prove. The common usage of mankind, civilized and savage, is evidence of a conviction that the appropriation by first-comers of the spontaneous gifts of nature is not substantially unfair to those who come after, because they are placed in a better position than if there had been no appropriation.[1] In fact, St. Thomas' proof for the legitimacy of private property is based on the expediency of it.[2] When it can be proven that individual ownership is an institution retarding man's advancement toward his destiny, that instant, and not before, it becomes admittedly unjust; for Providence has bestowed goods upon men that their wants may be satisfied.

The same statements hold for any particular object of property right, for instance, land. It is because private property in land is not a spoliation of mankind in general that it can be defended, and we do not want for quite worthy authorities as to the truth of our base of reasoning. So the author above cited continues: "It seems to me clear that existing labor in the aggregate gains more by the results of previous labor which it finds accumulated than it loses by the appropriation of the land." But although the legitimacy of private property in land cannot be gainsaid, our principles indicate important limitations to be placed upon that right. Land is a divine

[1] H. Sidgwick, Principles of Political Economy, p. 503.
[2] II. II ae q. 66. a. 1.

gift to the human family, and it is to be disposed of in a way not inconsistent with the purpose of the Giver. Land therefore cannot be appropriated for the exclusive benefit of any particular class.

A special question connected with the rights of property in land here deserves some attention. Is the right named confined to the holding of land in cultivation, or is it legitimate for man to own and "rent" land, that is, admit others to its cultivation for a specified consideration? The question is one much debated to-day, especially in those countries where the scarcity of land has become the fruitful source of want. It must receive an answer in accord with the principles laid down above. The arguments presented against the system of rent are based usually on either a false conception of labor as to the sole title to property, or on exaggeration and distortion of the abuses connected with the system. The question is one of fact,—and the facts impartially considered have not led us to think that the system of renting can be declared opposed essentially to the perfection of man and the progress of society. We must observe nevertheless that the same principles which justify the system as in essence lawful, also create very important restrictions or conditions as to the method in which that system must be conducted. The remuneration of the cultivator of the land should be the prime consideration of the whole transaction; granted that the land be sufficiently productive for the purpose, he must receive recompense that will ensure his being able to lead a really human existence. Until this is ensured the owner *qua* owner can demand nothing. Should there be a surplus product, then indeed distribution may take place, but the first principle to be observed in this apportionment is that the interests of the laborer be considered before those of the proprietor. Rent, therefore, cannot be called an unjustifiable institution,—this being merely a corollary of the principles underlying private property.

But we now come to something that is incompatible with our principles, namely, the notion that men may waste or abuse the objects of their rights. After our statement on the foundation of rights, this error needs no further refutation.

The Catholic doctrine brings out prominently the conception of man as a steward of his Lord's goods, unable to dispose of them otherwise than in the interests of his Master. Witness the grand outspoken sentiments of the early Christian Fathers —Clement of Rome, Irenaeus, Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Basil. These did not deny the right of private property; they restricted that right within its due limits. A quotation from St. Augustine will suffice to illustrate the general attitude of them all. Said that great bishop: "Let him who is unwilling to share his goods with the poor understand that when he hears exhortations to show kindness that God is not commanding him to give what is his own, but rather to give up that which is God's."[1]

Truly these are the notions that need to be brought home to the present day,—the just limitations of property. Among the crying evils of the time surely the crime of luxury is not least. By luxury we understand the extravagant destruction of "costly" objects without the rational satisfaction of any person. Every day,—yes, and every hour brings us new instances of violations of moral law in this regard. The attempt frequently made to justify useless expenditure on the plea of its keeping money in circulation and thereby diffusing prosperity has been exploded. There are some people who seem unable to distinguish between a thing's being wrong and its being the worst possible wrong. And so they imagine that because extravagance is less harmful than say, hoarding, —that therefore it may be countenanced. Now extravagance certainly is not the worst possible evil, but on the other hand, neither is it a positive good. On reflection, we must admit luxury to be opposed to the moral and material development of both men and nations,—another instance of the known fact that in the long run the unethical can never prove to be economic.[2] Bastiat has shown very cleverly the fallacy of calling extravagance a blessing, and for any one still undeceived on that point we would counsel the reading of his story about the scapegrace son of the honest burgess Jacques Bonhomme, wherein by the breaking of a window both the father's purse and the total wealth of society are somewhat lessened.

[1] Serm. IV.
[2] Cf. Luxury, by de Laveleye.

It will be seen then that the very principles which serve as the basis of human rights also limit and determine these rights. There can be absolutely no extension of private property such as would run counter to the end for which it was first ordained.

Another instance of the operation of this principle is suggested by the well-known axiom "in extreme cases all things become common." Its meaning is that no mere property right can avail against a man's right to life; wherefore one cannot claim as his own the superfluous loaf that would save a fellow from death. *In extremis omnia fiunt communia.*

The consequences of the Catholic teaching on the point now under consideration are perhaps more far-reaching than would at first be commonly supposed. Let us cite St. Thomas: "Things established by human law cannot derogate from those of the natural or divine law. But according to the natural law or order instituted by Divine Providence, lower creatures are intended for the satisfying of man's necessity. And in consequence no division or appropriation of things proceeding from human law can interfere with man's being sustained by these things. To the judgment of each, however, is committed the dispensing of his own."[1] Now, apply this gauge to the question discussed just above about private ownership of land. Appropriation and use,—well and good! But what of selfish exclusion of others from land which the owner has no wish to put to any great service, but merely keeps from the occupancy of men pressed by want? Surely such action is wrong and unjust. This conclusion is the legitimate deduction from undoubted principles, and Karl Marx would no doubt find himself nonplussed did he but realize that the dogmatic, orthodox Church of the centuries was as ready as he himself to condemn that horrible process by him termed expropriation of population, and consisting in hunting whole tribes and communities from their immemorial dwellings that some *grand seigneur* may be blessed with a profitable sheep-walk or a magnificent deer-forest.[2]

It would seem that a host of those who attack the justice of private ownership, especially in land,—may we not name

[1] St. Thomas, II. II ae, q. 66, a. 7. Cf. Suarez, de Legibus, t. II. c. XIV.

[2] Cf. Capital, p. 465 sqq. English translation.

Mr. George in proof—labor under the misapprehension that the right of property implies the existence of unlimited power. Taking that good old quibble of *uti et abuti* to signify power, to abuse or wastefully destroy, the conclusion is, that landed proprietors may finish by driving entire populations into the sea. This, as far as we are concerned, is the assault on an effigy in straw, for it is to be understood that defenders of the sound doctrine conceive no possibility of contradiction between morality and justice, and logically can never claim sanction for any such action as that mentioned. As to the particular matter of property in land, history is not without notable instances of execution of the principles exposed. Pope Sixtus IV., for instance, when the lords of the Agro Romano failed usefully to employ their land, did not hesitate to forbid their excluding private laborers from its use.

Trade. We have seen that commutative justice requires the observance of strict equality in transactions between men. Though that law, as has been already shown, fails to establish identity of position, and this owing to nature's wise provisions, nevertheless its dictates are utterly at variance with the unfair practices commonly encountered in daily experience, and so ruinous to the general welfare and happiness. Were its precepts observed there would not be that widespread oppression, the very flagrancy of which it is that lends color to the wildest schemes of dreamers of revolution, if they but hold out promise of improvement. For if equality of value is to be preserved between things given and received, then is one forbidden to take advantage of weakness or ignorance in order to secure more favorable terms than equity permits. Transactions between man and man are to be carried on as it were objectively, and no man may crowd his fellow to the wall and then force him to his undoing, under the plea of turning circumstances to good account. Neither may we consider an unskillful bargainer as *quasi*-willing to submit to the disadvantages actually unknown to him. Nor may monopoly avail itself of special opportunities to create false values and control commerce and employment arbitrarily.

What then, it may be said, is to become of our broad admissions about transactions permissible although actually unjust materially? The question needs an answer.

The case we instanced above, of course, presupposed the laborer's free consent, and the absence of fraud or deceit; and be it well noted that the very passage of St. Thomas from which our quotation was taken, in the body of the text begins with the words: "It is to be said that to use fraud in order that a thing may be sold at more than its just price is undoubtedly a sin, in so far as one deceives his neighbor to the injury of the latter. But if there is no fraud"—and the text continues as cited.[1]

Now again, care must be taken lest the principle we have advanced be pushed too far. Even presupposing consent of the laborer, there is most assuredly a limit set by nature to such arrangements, forbidding that a man should part with what it is his strict duty to obtain. The point was insisted on emphatically in the memorable letter Rerum Novarum in the following words: "Now, were we to consider labor in so far as it is personal merely, doubtless it would be within the workman's right to accept any rate of wages whatsoever; for in the same way as he is free to work or not to work, so is he free to accept a small remuneration or even none at all. But this is a mere abstract supposition; the labor of the workingman is not only his personal attribute, but it is necessary, and this makes all the difference. The preservation of life is the bounden duty of all, and to be wanting therein is a crime. It follows that each one has a right to procure what is required in order to live; and the poor can procure it in no other way than through work and wages. Let it then be taken for granted that workman and employer should, as a rule, make free agreements and in particular should agree freely as to wages; nevertheless there underlies this a dictate of nature more imperious and more ancient than any bargain between man and man, namely, that the remuneration must be sufficient to support the wage-earner in frugal comfort. If through necessity or fear the workman be made to accept harder conditions because an employer or contractor will afford him no better, he is made the victim of force and injustice." In these principles and in this authoritative and outspoken declaration of them there is a bulwark against social oppres-

[1] II. II ae. q. 77, a. 1.

sion which will prove of no small moment in composing differences and strife. I know not what substitute for it can be found by those who seek a basis of right and justice other than that due to the exposition of Catholic theology.

Reflect now on the consequences of our principles when applied to the field of distributive justice. The norm, it is true, fails to produce equality, nevertheless it should produce the cessation of certain unfairness to be detected within its jurisdiction. In society's transactions with men, each man being member of a moral body, and a part of the social whole, has a natural right to receive his share of the common goods put by nature at humanity's service,—the bequest passed from one generation to another to be held in trust for a while and transferred again. In the distribution of these goods no matter what plan may be followed it rests with society to see that no man be deprived of his share, that no man receive an excess at cost of a comrade's deprivation. It follows then that on the whole round of social relations, trade, employment, association, eash man can claim a member's right in society's goods, advantages, protection, and the like. For we know that in the beginning the goods of the earth were common, having been bestowed upon mankind as a body; and in consequence that they belong to all men in whom human nature exists in its integrity. We speak, of course, not of an obligatory positive ownership, but of a negative and primitive ownership, the starting point of private possession. In this we have the sanction of St. Thomas' teachings. Community of goods is attributed to the natural law, not because the natural law dictates that all be possessed in common and nothing in private, but because the natural law makes no distinction of possession.[1] This common ownership is as it were the substratum of the continual uninterrupted distribution of wealth which takes place daily, all existing things undergoing a total transfer in every successive generation of men. From this it follows that the law of distributive justice should have a concern in the disposition of this wealth. "Les particuliers . . . . ne sont pas totalment affranchis de l'obligation de

[1] Communitas rerum attribuitur juri naturali, non quia jus naturale dictet omnia esse possidenda communiter, et nihil esse quasi proprium possidendum : sed quia secundum jus naturale non est distinctio possessionum. II. II ae q. 66, a. 2, ad. 1.

s'inspirer de cette vertu, mais il appartient surtout à la société, qui les réglemente par ses lois positives, les sanctionne, ou les frappe de nullité, en determine le mode, la forme, les conditions, les effets, qui remplit par là même la fonction de distributrice des biens antérieurement communs (d'une antériorite de nature), de faire converger sa legislation vers une equitable répartition equitable de la richesse, de veiller à ce que personne de ses membres ne soit frustré de la part qui lui en revient. C'est pour elle un devoir de justice distributive.''[1] What a vital and far-reaching truth this must prove, may at first not be fully apprecited. But let us consider its application to that all-important problem concerning the subsistence of the proletariat.

On the score of commutative justice society can obtain only that men should have the opportunity to demand their just wage, on the basis of an equal exchange. No matter how desirable, society cannot attempt to interfere in violation of the provisions of natural justice. Another standpoint than that of justice must be found if public authority is to have control of the wage scale so as to ensure the well-being of the worker; that is to say, a most vital part of the social organism. Such a standpoint is to be found in the application of the law of distributive justice based on the facts above exposed. By the law of distributive justice the masses,—the ''working people,''—are dealt with as a portion of society, and they are to receive consideration in proportion to their importance, their influence on the social well-being. Society's authority, therefore, is interested in seeing that their reward is calculated on the basis of their desert; it can then provide for the payment of a wage which considers not alone the objective value of the labor, but the needs and dignity of the laborer. From this point of view the workingman, able-bodied and industrious, surely has a right to such a share of the fruits of the earth as shall provide for him a comfortable existence. Such a wage is the minimum that will satisfy the natural and primordial rights possessed by every man coming into this world, against which no secondary right can avail, for that which is of human institution cannot derogate from the natural law instituted by

[1] Revue Thomiste, Nov. 1896, (art. Thèorie du juste salaire, par R. P. Mercier), p. 551.

Divine Providence. But according to the natural order instituted by Divine Providence, lower creatures are intended for the satisfaction of human needs. Therefore rights of property as actually existent being largely of human determination, must yield to the divinely determined right to live humanly, —the minimum share of this world's goods allotted to any human being. It belongs to distributive justice, then, to provide that this minimum be obtained by all classes of useful labor; first, in view of the rights of man, and secondly, in view of the utility of the laborer as a member of society. The state, as guardian of public justice, has not only the right but the duty to make this possible, and to this end must direct those powers wherewith it has been endowed by God.

There is another noteworthy clause in the Catholic teaching concerning distributive justice which must be here touched upon as pertinent to our present course of reasoning. It is that distributive justice is to be the aim of the whole social body, and therefore, although its chief acts are reserved for the heads of society, it is nevertheless to some extent in those subject to authority; that is, in so far as they are contented with a just distribution of goods. The parasites of modern political organization, with their bribery and corruption, greed of gain and lust of power, playing their part ofttimes in the creation or perpetuation of unjust distinctions between men or classes, may surely be indicted as contravening this precept.

Civil Power. State power, of course, is but the reflection of divine power. Its origin allows us to perceive both its object and its duty. The law of Godd must be the rule and measure of its actions; it is invalid and avails to nought when otherwise directed than according to divine ordinance. This fact insures on the one hand powerful and efficacious legislation, and on the other, respect for the rights, welfare, and liberty of individuals. To give an instance: when the state sets about providing for the laborer according to the demands of distributive justice it must respect the due order; it cannot enforce upon the employer the satisfaction of whatever rights the laborer may hold against the community. The employer having satisfied the requirements of commutative

justice is no further concerned with the matter than as a simple member of society.

Every power that exists is ordained of God, is the Christian principle, and its value lies in the fitness to repress men's attempts at realizing their wishes by means of state interference independently of higher moral law. But however loud the voice of the majority, however strong, it can never avail to justify measures unsupported by divine sanction. What practical means the state will undertake is a concern of the politician or the economist; the theologian is only busied with them thus far, that they must in no particular run counter to the law of justice. And it might be here remarked that since God has endowed the state with faculties necessary for its end of being, it must needs be able to legislate for the fulfilment of the requirements of justice, even by the exercise of extraordinary power. Thus we concede to it the use of a power of high domain (altum dominium) whereby it may assess its members in order to obtain from them what is necessary for its own performance of duty. So we conceive that the state could sometimes—be it remembered, we speak in the abstract, and of what should be extraordinary and exceptional—be under the necessity of partially redistributing the goods of its citizens in order to secure the conditions necessary to its own health and preservation; in which case of course to undertake such redistribution would be not only its right but its evident duty. What we have pointed out as the truth in this matter may be borne in on some minds as an extreme position; yet it is but the logical conclusion of principles that are undoubted. No matter what may be said of it, none can fail to perceive its superiority to that anarchic struggle in which each individual claims nature's sanction for consulting his own best interests.

> The good old rule, the simple plan—
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

Nor will any deny the superiority of our position to that theory of state omnipotence which puts the individual in jeopardy by making every citizen profess lifeless and servile submission to a juggernaut whose iron hoofs beat all men down to a plane of equality, crushing remorselessly every trait of

superiority and distinction. Again, the line must be clear between such state interference as we declare permissible and that theory called Socialism. In any given economic detail Socialism may be well within the bounds of legitimate activity, and hence the danger of the current misapprehension that advocacy of some definite plan of state interference, or perhaps a general partiality for extension of paternal government constitutes a Socialist. For until we have agreed on the meaning of our words little can be said to the point of any difficulty; above, however, we defined the meaning sufficiently for our own purpose, and the term is here to be understood in the sense then explained. We repeat, then, however, wide have been our concessions to the power of the state these do not imply any weakness toward Socialism. Mere advocacy of certain economic measures will not make a man a Socialist as we conceive the term; he must also fall foul of certain principles such as those we have been insisting on. The points on which consistent Socialism thus antagonises sound doctrine may be seen briefly summarised near the beginning of the *Rerum Novarum*. But as to what some people are pleased to call Socialism, that is mere advocacy of the extension of state duties and powers, this is a question quite out of the theological field. To repeat: We cannot deny the right of property,—we may question the fact that it is expedient to extend that right over certain objects. We cannot make the state the origin and final arbiter of human rights, but we can demand a more paternal system of government. We cannot affirm outright that inequalities are necessarily violations of justice,—we can lament and censure the awful contrasts between the "upper classes" and "the other half,"—rags, tatters and nakedness on the one side, and on the other a flaunting array of all that the world can give. We cannot insist on the totally unjustifiable claim of labor to the whole product, and take by force whatever is possessed on any other title,—we can demand encouragement of associations, formation of co-operative societies and the like. To wish for any of these things is not to be a Socialist, for the Socialists of real life are seeking to extend government only because they, and only so far as they, believe government control to be necessary and fitted for realizing certain theories of right and well-

being which they think it incumbent on organized society to realize; consequently the thing that characterizes their position is not so much the degree of their confidence in the powers of the state as the nature of the theories of right for which they invoke its intervention. Suffering no stigma therefore, we grant the state all power necessary for its well-being, and not incompatible with the limits of its province, the nature of its end, and the dictates of the Supreme Law. Any economic measure, indeed, is to be adjudged by the wisdom of the statesman; and to defend state railroads, state telegraph, and so on, will always be legitimate, so long as the end in view be not vitiated by the introduction of unlawful means or intention. These however, being questions of expediency are matter for discussion elsewhere than in this paper.

Charity. Finally,—for this shall be our last specification of the beneficent conclusions to be drawn from the principles exposed,—our investigation of the social law must have given us an intimation of a rule still to be observed when the requirements of justice have all been fulfilled. A vital error common among social theorizers has been that justice speaks the last word anent the regulation of human intercourse. An utter mistake is this, and liable to all the dire consequences attendant on the separation of any important truth from its complementaries. Justice is really but part of an integral system. Alone it cannot attempt an ideal. The student of society must appreciate that for the working out of the Divine plan *charity* is still incumbent on us after the complete satisfaction of justice. For the happy results we all long after must be chiefly brought about by "the plenteous outpouring of charity; of that true Christian charity which is the fulfilling of the whole Gospel law, which is always ready to sacrifice itself for another's sake, and is man's surest antidote against worldly pride and immoderate love of self,—that charity whose office is described, and whose Godlike features are outlined by the Apostle Paul in these words: 'Charity is patient, is kind, . . . seeketh not her own, . . . suffereth all things, . . . endureth all things.'"[1] There is not a doubt that the importance of charity as a factor in social progress, though sometimes exag-

[1] Leo XIII. Encyc. RerumNovarum, circ. fin.

gerated by those who leave no place for the exercise of justice, is perhaps more frequently altogether forgotten. Are not the reformatory, the orphanage, the poor man's union all institutions chiefly Christian in their inception, and sprung of the inspiration of Christian charity before humanitarianism had found or sought a place of usefulness? And these institutions,—first nurtured by charity under whatever auspices their after-existence has sometimes flourished,—have they not taken their rank as factors worthy of consideration in the building up of a model society?

And thus, by the conception and pursuit of the perfect ideals taught by Christ and his Church, we shall pursue the one path that points to the realization of that social peace and harmony we all so ardently yearn for.

JOSEPH MCSORLEY, (C. S. P.)

MISCELLANEOUS.

On the Pentateuch.[1]

In this month's issue of the *Revue Biblique* (Paris and Jerusalem) there appears a very important paper from the pen of Father Lagrange, O. P. A lengthy summary of it has been communicated to the BULLETIN, and we herewith lay before our readers the substance of this interesting study. It is the first of two papers dealing with the "Sources of the Pentateuch," and deals only with certain preliminary or pre-judicial questions that need to be well examined before the main question of "Sources" can be satisfactorily followed up.

Father Lagrange begins by a reminder that the first to reason out a theory as to the sources of the Pentateuch was a Catholic and a Frenchman, and he quotes from Jean Astruc's book of 1753 words expressive of the noble Christian aims and thoroughly Catholic temper of that epoch-making discoverer,—words which all Catholic scholars who admit sources throughout the Pentateuch will gladly make their own. He then gives a short history and description of the growth of Pentateuchal criticism outside the Church, resulting in the present practical unanimity as to the existence and general character and extension of the four great documents of the Elohist (*E*), the Jahvist (*J*), Deuteronomy (*D*), and the Priestly Code (*P*). This criticism had, however, its first beginnings within the Church: Richard Simon, the seventeenth century French oratorian, was its founder. And reasons are given for holding that the time has come for attempting to examine and appraise all this mass of work. But five prejudicial questions have first to be met; they all make up one great question: as to how far such a study is permissible to a Catholic. The careful examination of these questions occupies the rest of the paper.

[1] The Very Rev. Father Lagrange, O.P., is the founder and superior of the Dominican convent of St. Stephen in Jerusalem, Director of the School of Higher Studies there, and editor of the *Revue Biblique*, a new and vigorous exponent of Catholic scriptural learning. The paper in question was read at the International Scientific Congress of Catholics, held at Fribourg, Switzerland, last August, and was received with great satisfaction by that large and distinguished assembly of Catholic savants.

First preliminary question: The Composition of the Sacred Books.

In an unreflecting way it has often been assumed that the manner of this composition must needs have been analogous to that of our Western literature; the method traced in the composition of Greco-Roman classical books has been taken to be of the type followed by the Bible, whereas it is not Livy, but Josephus, who gives a really fair idea of the literary method of Orientals. The Massoretic text of Genesis (ch. xlvii.) is thus shown to be made up of two parallel narratives, still found side by side in the septuagint version; "If, then, such redactional changes took place even shortly before the final petrefaction of the Massoretic text, what can we not suppose for primitive times?" Hence "the classical conception of the redaction of books has no claim to bind us as theologians, and it is that conception which gave rise to a particular theory of Canonicity and Inspiration. A secred book was supposed to have been always composed once for all and to have been then deposited beside the ark, whilst no one dared to change a line; it seemed impossible to understand how there could have been a succession of remodellings of the text without damage to its sacred character. And yet to translate, transcribe, and develop a sacred book is assuredly licit, and may be the result of Inspiration. To harmonize in one single text even works which are themselves inspired, and for that purpose to reduce them to certain proportions, is equally so; although the dogma of Inspiration, whilst requiring the inspiration of the final redactor, does not necessarily demand the inspiration of the documents employed by him. . . . We are, then, not obliged to attribute to the primitive author the final redaction of a Biblical book."

Second preliminary question: The Evolution of the Law.

Such an evolution of even the substance of the laws, giving us several successive legislations in our present Pentateuchal code, is shown, in contradistinction to the absolute character of the first principles of the moral law itself, to be both natural and necessary, even for the unchanging East. "It is incontestable that certain enactments of the Pentateuch appear contradictory. Harmonists have for many a day given us

solutions, each possible when taken singly, but amounting to a moral impossibility when taken all together. Admit a legislative evolution, and the very semblance of contradiction disappears; for, though any two enactments may contradict each other in the sense that the one abrogates the other, yet the redactor does not contradict himself in reporting two successive enactments." And such successive stages of legislation often leave their monuments thus side by side in ancient codes, as, *e. g.* in the constitutions of the Dominican Order. No doubt the formula "God said to Moses" proclaims that the law is of both Mosaic and Divine origin. "But the priests of Jerusalem had the right to promulgate a law in the name of God; Deuteronomy (xvii, 11) expressly gives them competence, not only to resolve questions of fact, but also to fix points of law. And supposing such law to be determined correctly and in conformity with the primitive law, then such law was of Mosaic as well as Divine origin, not indeed immediately, but mediately. Nor need the formula, in cases of legal enactment, express a revelation strictly so-called; for the Mosaic law has none of the characteristics of Jacobine legislation which creates all anew, for the purpose of ruling man, conceived as absolute and in a state of integrity. Amidst existing customs he accepted some and rejected others. What he did at Sinai, he could do later on, by the ordinary channel of authority, without recourse to special revelations. We shall no doubt have still to prove, against a large number of critics, that there existed a primitive Mosaic legislation, and that the laws of the Priestly Code are its normal conclusion; but we shall at least be free to consider these laws as posterior to Moses, not only in their redaction, but also in their principal theme."

Third preliminary question: The Testimony of the Bible.

As to the Old Testament, it nowhere says that Moses is the author of the whole Pentateuch; its terms are too vague to be taken in so absolute a sense. It would appear even that such a passage as: Jahveh said to Moses: write this for a memorial in a book (or, the book, Exod. xvii, 14), proves two things: the first, that Moses wrote something on the matter in hand; the second, that he did not write all the rest. So also with Numb. xxxiii, 2, and Exod. xxiv, 7. No doubt Deuteronomy

is given (xxxi, 24) as the work of Moses. But the principles already applied to the formula: "God said to Moses," are equally applicable to the formula: "Moses wrote." In that case Deuteronomy would be entirely pseudepigraphical; yet the wisdom of Solomon seems to prove that a pseudepigraphical book can well be an inspired one. All these texts testify no doubt to a very ancient tradition that Moses himself reduced certain narratives and laws to writing, a tradition which enabled successive legislators to attribute to Moses the laws which they composed according to his spirit. But, since these texts do not clearly distinguish between the parts attributed to each, they do not debar us from applying internal criticism for the purpose of distinguishing between the foundations and the later superstructures, as long as the principal affirmation is not called in question.

As to the New Testament, "the authority of our Lord ought not to be involved. The writer is not of those who limit His knowledge, even as man. But the proposition: 'Moses wrote this law,' remains substantially true, even if it cannot be applied to the complete redaction of the law; Our Lord came to bring back hearts to God, not to treat of literary problems; and, as to the one difficult passage (John v, 45, 47), the real antithesis is here between the *written* book of the law (known to all the world under the name of Moses) and the *spoken* words of Our Lord the literary question as to the composition of the Pentateuch is not even raised."

Fourth preliminary question: Tradition.

Tradition, in the Catholic Church, stands on a par with Scripture; and the divine teaching contained in either is of faith, as soon as the Church has determined its sense. Indeed, we cannot, without temerity, contravene the dogmatic sense of Scripture generally held by theologians, or reject a tradition recognized by them generally as of importance to the faith. Where a tradition does not touch faith, even the unanimous consent of the Fathers does not, according to the rule of Melchior Cano (vii, 3), suffice to render it certain; indeed, even in questions arising from theology, it is possible to distinguish certain modalities which do not equally interest faith (so again Cano, vii, 4). Now, if we apply these principles to

the tradition concerning the Pentateuch "we get, first, a double modality: Moses is the legislator of Israel, Mosaism is at the bottom of the whole history of the people of God—there is the *historical* tradition; Moses was the redactor of the Pentateuch which we possess; there is the *literary* tradition." Evidently, these two aspects are not identical, and facts which are capable of solidly establishing the first tradition may be of no value relatively to the second; yet this luminous distinction has not been drawn by the defenders of the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch, no doubt largely because tradition being attacked indiscriminately, called forth an indiscriminating defence. The two traditions are, however, of very unequal value. All the reasons of a wise historical criticism require us to maintain the historical tradition; the case is very different with regard to the literary tradition. First, there is no complete unanimity as to the extent of the Mosaic authorship, though the attribution of the account of the death of Moses to Joshua is without traditional attestation; such an attribution, or again, the assumption of glosses is really a beginning of internal criticism. Secondly, such verification of the precise authorship of a complete book is difficult; as an example, theologians and councils have attributed to the Areopagite writings which all competent men refuse to him. And thirdly, "if the redaction of the sacred books was continuous, where shall be find a witness to the literary fact of the total composition? In the assembly of Nehemiah? But if the book there read by Ezrah was not his elucubration, if it contained Deuteronomy, and if this again as conformable to the Book of the Covenant containing the primitive legislation, then the people was witness much more to the historical fact of the Mosaic character of the legislation than to the modalities of the composition of that book." Passages from the Talmud are given to show that tradition appears to have preserved the memory of a redaction accomplished in the times of Ezrah. Several Fathers of weight have based their belief that the sacred books were lost at the time of the Babylonian Captivity, and were reconstituted by Ezrah, under Artaxerxes, upon the narration of the Apocryphal IVth book of Ezrah; they have, by thus readily following a second-rate Jewish tra-

dition and endorsing some of its most fabulous details, proved once more how different is the level of patristic authority in matters literary and in matters dogmatic. And since then, though Catholics have not gone as far as Protestants in a bondage to the letter inherited from Rabbinism, yet "it is time for Catholics also to distinguish more precisely between Apostolic Tradition and Jewish opinions. We generally admit that the words of Our Lord have been, in a certain measure, transformed by the primitive oral teaching of the Church; we have in the Gospels two forms of the *Pater Noster,* and do not hold ourselves bound to maintain that Jesus Christ pronounced them both; why then should we believe that Moses wrote both forms of the Decalogue?"

As to the council of Trent, "it is known that, whilst pronouncing on Canonicity, it avoided deciding the question of Authorship." It may be objected that, in naming the Pentateuch of Moses, the council has at least expressed its opinion on this matter; "but, even if it were true that Trent thus laid down a disciplinary rule without saying that it did so, the measure cannot be extended beyond what is practised with regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, the origin of which was actually discussed in the council. Even those who hold themselves bound to the Pauline authorship admit a redactor, as distinct from a simple scribe, a redactor who has given to the document its final literary form. We ask, no doubt, something more for the Pentateuch, yet this will ever remain the Pentateuch of Moses, if that great man laid the foundations of its legislation."

Fifth preliminary: The Historic Value of the Pentateuch.

This is by far the most delicate point, if only because of the old and general habit of basing the veracity of the Pentateuch upon its Mosaic authorship. Yet here, too, distinctions are necessary. For, if a narrative, posterior by several centuries to the facts related, be totally unworthy of credence, then even Mosaic authorship would not, of itself, save the historic character of the patriarchal history; and if Moses is convinced as using prior documents, then it becomes evident that the date of the redaction of a book matters less than the existence of written sources. "And the situation created for us by literary criticism as to admission of the four great documents of the

Elohist, the Jahvist, Deuteronomy, and the Priestly Code or History of the Religious Institutions of Israel, is not as bad as is generally supposed. For the three of these documents (the first two and the last) which contain practically all the history of the Pentateuch, have each used the preceding document. Who does not see that, in such circumstances, there can be no question of a real and fundamental contradiction between authors so careful to follow each other that they could, in the end, be worked up into a Harmony? And have we not thus, to insure the veracity of the history of Israel, three witnesses instead of one? Suppose the last of these understood the history differently from his predecessors, what matter, since the final redactor insures the correctness of our judgment, by putting the various narratives into parallel for use? De we not say similarly that, though the divergences of the synoptic gospels impose upon us an impossible task, as soon as we would force them into absolutely the same mold, their agreement in essential points, throughout this independence of thought, is the best criterion for the veracity of the general account? As to the "real difficulty, the contention that the Priestly Code has generalized, systematized, and idealized history," this question has two aspects, according as we care for this truth, because of its forming part of the history of salvation, and hence closely bound up with dogma itself; or because it forms part of the teaching of the Bible, a book inspired and hence inerrant. "It is clear that, under the first aspect, we cling only to the principal facts; for if these broad facts of salvation were contained in an uninspired book, errors of detail would concern us but little, as in the case of the Church's liturgy; and yet this latter relates to us the history of the Church of Christ, surely as dear to us as the history of the synagogue. Under the second aspect, we rightly cling to the veracity of the Bible even in details. Yet where these details are not important in themselves, we are free to ask whether God really willed to teach them to us, or whether He has not utilized them as material elements of a higher teaching. Such a principle is applicable both to the Primitive History (of the first chapters of Genesis) and to the Idealized History (of the Priestly Code), for in both cases there is an historical subject-matter, taught by means of accidental forms which the author does not give

as true in themselves, but as a formula more or less precise of the truth." And if, of the two, the author of the Idealized History appears the more master of himself, and to deliberately choose what might seem misleading accessories, "we shall do well, if we would understand him aright, to enter into the mind of the contemporaries of this author, into the mind, say of Ezechiel, and to ask ourselves how Catholic tradition understands Ezechiel himself." Before God all things are present; every divine affirmation is essentially true whether it refer to the past or to the future. Every inspired prophecy is then as true as every inspired history. And yet who looks to find any historical reality in Ezechiel's prophecies as to the restoration of Israel? Nothing has been realized literally, all has been realized spiritually. These prophecies are, as it were, a sketch of the Kingdom of God. Why, then, not similarly hold that a contemporary, building upon authentic facts, gave to the ancient history that regularity which rendered Christ proper to become the figure of the future? What, for instance, did the early Fathers seek in this Code's description of the Tabernacle? The Christ, and always the Christ. They profoundly felt the figurative and symbolic value of the details of a thing thoroughly historic in itself? "Besides, the Pentateuch is a law; its historical elements are not to be despised, yet more or less throughout, and above all in the Priestly Code, the history is but a frame-work. Now is a legislator, especially at that period, to be forbidden to present his legislation in a figurative form? Does a case of conscience, with all its very precise details, contain a true history? And can it not be said that the history of the daughters of Salphaad, for instance, resembles a series of such cases? (Num. xxvi, 33; xxvii, 1, 7; xxxvi, 6, 10). And, above all, is God to be debarred from causing the history of the ancient people to be written in a manner more fit to prefigure the new law, than would be the prosaic method of historic reality? "God has not, with regard to such and such like historic and chronological details, chosen to instruct us, to teach us things that do not concern salvation. But He has not, for all that, led us into error, although He has sanctioned the use of historical processes so foreign to our habits; all the harm comes from ourselves, who prefer Jewish literalness to the instinct of the Fathers, who rose higher."

Unedited Articles of the Austro-Veneto Polish Alliance of 1683.

The unpublished Articles of the famous Alliance entered into between John Sobieski, King of Poland (1673–1696), Leopold I., of Austria, and the Republic of Venice, for the deliverance of Vienna, (are taken from a very rare old Italian print of the seventeenth century, issued in 1684, by special privilege, for the official use of the State only. The care of the valuable publication was confided to the celebrated Malatesta family of printers, established at Rome and Venice as official printers to the Curia and the Doge. The Articles of the Alliance are precious pages of European history. Not to go back beyond the period which marked the treaty of peace of Westphalia (1648), by which Alsace was ceded to France and the Thirty Years' War ended, Austria continued to be the theater of political strife in the seventeenth century. The discovery of the great conspiracy formed against Leopold I. by certain Hungarian leaders gave to the Empire a short intermission of comparative peace that was soon broken by the rebellion of Hungary. Some writers allege that the monarch's severity of government incited the Hungarians to rebellion, but a careful and impartial study of the history of the period in question will elicit the fact that the existence of a common Tartaric origin between Hungarian and Moslem, coupled with the reciprocal racial sympathies of both and the aspirations of the former to autonomy, gave rise to an Independence Party in Hungary which not only threatened the stability of the House of Austria, but opened up a wide vista of general danger to Europe.

In 1681 Leopold gave to the world ample evidence of his desire to deal justly with his Hungarian subjects by granting them liberal concessions; the effort, however, was futile. The Peace of Nimeguen with France (1679) offered the Emperor a good opportunity to employ all his forces against the rebellious Hungarians. In the conjuncture two important historical facts are clearly defined and should not be overlooked, because

identified with the anomalous attitude of Louis XIV. toward the Christian civilization of the seventeenth century and the efforts of the Christian powers (Austria, Poland and the Venetian Republic) to prevent Moslem rule in Europe. Sad to relate, that France, the eldest daughter of the Church, which in the days of Clovis (481–511), Charles Martel (741), and the Crusades, had raised mighty armies to repel the Visigoths and the Moors, and to strike down the Crescent, seemed now to exert her power and influence against the Cross by seeking political allies among its sworn foes. Louis XIV., the persecutor of the Huguenots, sought and accepted the alliance of Islam.

The violation by Mahomet IV. of the treaty entered into between that monarch and Leopold I. after the battle of St. Gothard (1664), raised to the leadership of the Hungarian insurrectionary forces the famous Tekelí.[1] As vassal of the Sultan, he was elevated to the dignity of a quasi royalty. A large portion of Hungary belonging to Austria was placed under his jurisdiction, and upon the attempt to assert the high prerogatives of the newly created office, Vienna remonstrated with the Divan. This added fuel to the fire; an answer was received from Turkey, but it was in the nature of a strong military contingent sent to the rebel leader to aid him in gaining control, by fire, sword and persecution, of the Austrian possessions. The Cabinet of Versailles viewed with undisguised pleasure an invasion which would help to weaken the hated House of Austria. Here, however, as in many other instances, the inordinate designs of an ambitious and powerful ruler were frustrated by an all-wise Providence, and France was saved from the ignominy of a share in the overthrow of Christianity, which was surely imminent had Kara-Mustapha succeeded in capturing the beleaguered city of the Austrian Empire.

Ruled by the grand-vizier, and with an eye single to the possible chance of another Turco-European Empire, Mahomet IV., with all the intensity of his fanatical nature, indulged in the constant dream of his predecessors, "to feed his horse

[1] Tökölyi, Tököli, or Tökely (Emmeric), a Hungarian nobleman, and leader of the so-called Independence Party in Hungary, born in 1656, declared king of Hungary in 1682, by Mahomet IV., died in Turkey, where he took refuge, in 1705.

with a measure of oats on the altar of St. Peter at Rome." Soon after the conclusion of the Turco-Russian war of 1681, the Grand-Vizier was induced to assist the insurgents, on condition that their leader acknowledge the suzerainty of the Porte, and in order to further perfect the plans for the overthrow of Christianity in Europe an alliance was formed between the Turks, Hungarians, Transylvanians and Wallachians in 1682. Early in the spring of the following year Mahomet issued from his capital with a large army which, at Belgrade, was turned over to Kara-Mustapha. In the meantime Tekelí formed a junction with the Turkish army at Essek, on its way to capture Vienna. As is well known, the enemies of the Cross were completely routed by the valiant army of Poles and Austrians under the leadership of the immortal Sobieski.

During the same year (1682), the Christian powers, as an offset to the Tartar combination, formed an offensive alliance against the Turks, which was signed at Rome in the presence of Pope Innocent XI., on the 31st day of March, 1683., coincident with the advance of the enemy's invasion. The articles of this league are now published for the first time.

Capitoli della Lega stabilitatu tra la Maestà Cesarea, il Re di Polonia e la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia, 1683.

Primo. Che sia lega offensiva tra Cesare, Re e Repubblica de Polonia, e la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia e questa duri fino alla fine della Guerra, e a difendersi in perpetuo.

Secondo. Che sia Protettore il Sommo Pontefice, suoi successori e Santa Sede Apostolica, a fine che nium recedo dai patti.

Terzo. Si obbligano le parti sotto il giuranmento e in ogni miglior modo di mantenere la lega e tutti i patti per se e loro successori.

Quarto. Che li SS. Cardinali, Pio, per Sua Maestà Cesarea, Barbarino per il Re e Repubblica di Polonia e Ottobone per la Repubblica di Venezia dovranno nel termine di due mesi firmarla e giurarla nelle mani di Sua Santità.

Quinto. Che durante la lega niuna delle parti possa separatamente accordarsi con il Nemico, con titolo che li venissero offerti grossi partiti e vantaggi considerevoli.

Sesto. Che sua Maestà Cesarea fa quaesta lega come Re d'Ungaria, Boemia e come Arciduca d'Austria, si che li predetti Regni e Provincie ereditarie restino obbligate a questa Lega; avra le dette obbligazioni il Re di Polonia, con il Gran Ducato di Littuania e la Repubblica di Venezia con tutti i suoi stati.

Settimo. Questa lega s'intende per la sola lega contro il Turco, ne si estende ad altra lega sotto qualsiasi pretesto.

Ottavo. Promettono Sua Maestà Cesarea il Re di Polonia, con tutto il Regno, agire con poderosi Eserciti, e la Repubblica di Venezia con Potentissima Armata in Mare e sue truppe di Dalmazia; Per questo metteranno le due forze fino alla Pace che si spera da Dio debba riuscire Gloriosa.

Nono. Che se per accidente alcuna delle parti si trovasse in pericolo e che per la lora liberazione fosse necessario l'aiuto dei Confederati, promettono l'unione delle armi secondo le sue Possibilità.

Decimo. Lo stesso faranno ogni volta, che per la consulta di Guerra si pubblicherà necessario con grossa gente compartire con tutte le loro forze, a qual fine le Parti constituiranno Ufficiali da Guerra pratici e a ciò singolarmente Deputati e quelli saranno ammessi dal Consiglio di Guerra.

Undecimo. Che la Guerra si dovrà fare con diversioni, cioè, Sua Maestà Cesarea procuri di ricuperare le Fortezze d'Ungaria, il Re e Repubblica di Polonia quelle di Carminiez, di Ucrania,—la Repubblica di Venezia procuri di ricuperare quello che ha perso, e ciò che si ricuperà sia di quello al quale prima spettava, con dichiarazione che quello che prenderanno li Veneziani in Dalmazia al Turco sia suo, benchè fosse altre volte dell' Imperatore.

Duodecimo. E acciò l'Impresa sia di profitto si contentino subito ratificare la Lega e così concerteranno ogni anno a tempo, e si elegeranno, per quanto sara possibile, li rimedii più opportuni.

Decimoterzo. S'invitano in questa Lega tutti gli altri principi Cristiani, e sopra tutti gli S. S. Czari di Moscoviafi, anche nell' accettarla sia commune l'assenso.

Decimoquarto. Che la presente Lega non pregiudichi ad altre Leghe che possano esser state fatte tra le Parti, anzi si confermino.

Decimoquinto. Che questa Lega non pregiudichi a quella che Sua Maestà Cesarea ha fatto con la Polonia l'anno passato, ma si osservi l'una e l'altra.

Decimosesto. Che i Plenipotenziarii faranno reciproco cambio di ratificazione nel termine di un mese.

TRANSLATION.

Articles of the league established between his Cæsarean Majesty, the King of Poland, and the Most Serene Republic of Venice, 1683.

First. That an offensive league is entered into by Cæsar, the King and the Republic of Poland and the most Serene Republic of Venice, to remain in force until the end of the war, and, as defensive, to last perpetually.

Second. That its Protector shall be the Sovereign Pontiff, his successors and the Holy Apostolic See—in order that none of the parties may withdraw from the ageement.

Third. That the parties hereto are bound under oath to the maintenance by themselves and by their successors of the league and of all its stipulations in the best possible manner.

Fourth. That Cardinal Pio on the part of his Cæsarean Majesty, Cardinal Barbarino on the part of the King and Republic of Poland, and Cardinal Ottobone on the part of the Republic of Venice, shall, within the term of two months, affix to said league their signatures and take oath thereon in the hands of His Holiness.

Fifth. That while the League is in force none of the parties shall come to a separate agreement with the enemy, alleging therefor the offer of a powerful alliance and considerable advantage.

Sixth. That his Cæsarean Majesty enters into this league as King of Hungary and Bohemia and as Archduke of Austria; so that this league is binding upon the aforesaid kingdoms and hereditary provinces; likewise upon the King of Poland with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and upon the Republic of Venice with its several States.

Seventh. That this league is directed solely against the Turks; nor shall it, under any pretext whatsoever, include any other object.

Eighth. His Cæsarean Majesty and the King of Poland, with the entire kingdom, promise to act with powerful armies; the Republic of Venice to coöperate with a strong armament by sea and with its troops in Dalmatia; said mutual action to be continued until the establishment of peace, which it is hoped, with God's help, may be glorious.

Ninth. In the event that any of the parties should be endangered in such wise as to require the assistance of the allies, these promise the united support of their arms to the best of their power.

Tenth. They shall do the same whenever the Council of War shall declare that it is necessary to place in service all their forces; for this purpose the paries shall appoint officers of war—men of experience and specially selected for the position—and these shall be admitted to the Council of War.

Eleventh. That the war shall be conducted by diversion; that is to say, his Cæsarean Majesty shall endeavor to regain the strongholds of Hungary; the King and the Republic of Poland, those of Carminiez and the Ukraine; the Republic of Venice, that which it has lost. Whatever is thus recovered shall belong to its original possessor, with the understanding, however, that what the Venetians may wrest from the Turk in Dalmatia shall be theirs, although it belonged in former times to the Emperor.

Twelfth. In order that the undertaking may be profitable it is agreed that the league be ratified at once, that each year the parties shall have an understanding and adopt, so far as may be possible, the most opportune measures.

Thirteenth. All other Christian princes are invited to join this league, and, above all, the Czar of Muscovy; likewise, in its acceptance let there be common accord.

Fourteenth. The present league shall in no way be prejudicial to other alliances which may have been formed between the parties; it shall, on the contrary, confirm them.

Fifteenth. This league shall not affect those which his Cæsarean Majesty entered into last year with Poland; both are to be observed.

Sixteenth. Within one month the Plenipotentiaries shall exchange their ratification of the league.

JOSEPH SMOLINSKI.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The English Black Monks of St. Benedict, from the coming of St. Augustine to the present day, by the Rev. Ethelred L. Taunton; 2 vols. John C. Nimmo. London: 1897.

One would have imagined that such a book would have long since made its appearance. It is owing to the difficulty of access to ancient works on the subject, to the fact that such books as the Monasticon of Dugdale, and others, deal with the Black Monks only in connection with other orders, that we have here for the first time a sustained account of the English Benedictines for the past thirteen hundred years. The work is generally based upon first-hand evidence, and as a rule the latter has been used diligently and intelligently. The book throughout is remarkable for its evenness of temper and general fairness in treating of delicate points. The following summary will give the reader some idea of the contents of this intensely interesting and useful history.

I. The Benedictine Constitution: The influence of any religious body is largely determined by the character of its rule. This is particularly true of the Benedictines. Properly speaking they, as an order, have no definite constitution; each monastery is rather a little family, living on friendly terms with, but otherwise independent of, all the others,—a characteristic which allows more freedom of action to individual members and preserves them from a narrowing "esprit de corps." All the families are to meet at certain intervals for the discussion only of matters of general interest, a form of government adopted and expressed by the Fourth General Council of Lateran. As a consequence of such independence from central control, the English monasteries were, with only five exceptions, subject to the bishops; as a further result, each monk was allowed greater freedom in the choice of occupations within the monastery itself.

II. The Monk in the World: Hence the Benedictine is so often found laboring in the world around him. One of the

leading features of the Benedictine Order was agriculture; its schools are so famous as hardly to need mention: the poor found relief at their gates, a fact which the latter keenly appreciated, but only too late, after the dissolution under Henry VIII. Their relations to the diocesan clergy were quite different from what is generally supposed. The origin of our present parochial system is, in this author's opinion, due to them,—not to the theory of a centralized operation of bodies of clergy united under a bishop. It is true that the system of vicars in churches appropriated to Benedictines apparently placed the diocesan clergy in an undue state of dependence, but it was a dependence begotten of gratitude, as a few figures will show. According to Gasquet, in the diocese of York, between the years 1501 and 1539, there were 6,190 priests ordained, of whom 1,415 were religion and 4,698 were diocesan priests presented on titles furnished by a monastery or college, and only 77 on a title provided elsewhere. When the troubles of the monasteries began these numbers fell at once. In 1536 only 92 were ordained priests; in 1537 no ordinations are recorded; in 1538 only 20; in 1539 only 10. So that were it not for the monasteries the diocesan clergy would have had no living at all. In general, the author thinks that if the monks had vast possessions and responsibilities they rose nobly to what was demanded of them.

III. The Monk in his Monastery: The Benedictine, in contrast to other religions, had more opportunity for individual development allowed by his rule; still there are certain characteristics common to all houses. The author attempts to bring them out clearly by describing the imaginary life of John Weston, of Lynminster, from the time of his birth and education to his entrance into the order,—his daily life in the monastery, meals, studies, recreations, university life at Oxford, ordination, his rule of the monastery as prior, finally his death and burial—a picture which is painted with all the skill of an artist and the affection of a brother.

IV. Women Under the Rule: Nuns practising the rule of St. Columba existed in the North soon after the introduction of Christianity, but in the South those of the Benedictine rule predominated; both, however, gradually coalesced into one,

wherein the spirit of St. Benedict predominated. Among the notable nuns of old England were Hilda, at famous Whitby; Eanswith, in the south at Folkestone; Queen Ethelburga, Queen Sexburgh and others, most of whose foundations perished during the Danish invasion, few being rebuilt. The abbesses had most of the privileges of abbots. Each was bound to do service to the crown, to supply her quota of knights for the king's service; each held her own courts for pleas of debts; each was elected for life, but could be deposed. Their life again illustrates that peculiar elasticity of the Benedictine rule; they went abroad with great freedom—sometimes, like Hilda, to take part in a synod, journeying to London on law business, or like Chaucer's Madam Eglantine to the tomb of Thomas the Martyr. In their convents they were engaged in intellectual pursuits; in fact, the Anglo-Saxon race was peculiarly rich in women of culture and learning,—for instance, Edith, daughter of King Edgar, Lioba of Wimborne, who was versed in all the liberal arts, was thoroughly acquainted with the writings of the Fathers and the Canon Law, and cultivated Latin verse. All the nuns knew Latin and could write it. Besides learning, they cultivated the art of embroidery, so much so that their work (the opus anglicanum) was far-famed. As a result the convents became the great educational centers for girls and even for little boys. To sum up in the words of Dom Gasquet: "Benedictine nuns were indeed not of the world, but they were in it, actively and intelligently, to do a good work to it,—to elevate, to console, to purify and to bless."

V. History of the Order—(a) Early Period: The long and glorious record of the English Benedictines opened with the landing of Augustine in the Island of Thanet, as tradition puts it. At first they met with a certain jealousy on the part of some of the old British monks in the West, whose hate for the Saxon kept them from joining in the work of conversion, but the latter finally either disappeared or were assimilated. The work both of civilization and of building of the order, carried on so successfully by Wilfrid, Benet Biscop and Bede was swept away by the fierce Danish invasions. Again, under Dunstan's guidance, they took up the noble work, meeting with great assistance from the pious King Edgar. (b) Norman

Conquest. Under the Normans another kind of devastation came in, consisting chiefly in the change from English to Norman monks; other changes affected the ritual, and were chiefly accomplished under the Norman Lanfranc. Immediately afterwards begins the golden age of monasticism, which is characterized by the inauguration in the Fourth General Council of Lateran (A. D. 1215) of a closer confederation of the hitherto rather independent houses.

(c). The Dissolution: The suppression of monasteries had a precedent as early as the time of King Henry V, who in 1414 suppressed the alien friaries. Wolsey added another by suppressing thirty native monasteries, so that when Henry VIII. began his nefarious work he had at least the small excuse of not inaugurating the movement. The tale of injustice, as told by Dom Gasquet, needs no additional comment; suffice it to say, in the author's words, that at the time of the suppression the monks were living lives of edifying observance, and that therefore the excuse of Froude's saint was worthless.

(d). Restoration: We now come upon a period of Catholic church history than which a sadder cannot be found in all its range; and although the narration of it will perhaps offend certain susceptibilities, the author has done so with a balance of judgment, charity and restraint of feeling that place both his facts and his intentions above suspicion. The restoration of the Benedictines is intimately connected with it. As is well known, the Catholics in England from the year 1580 were mainly in charge of the Jesuit order, of whom the first and ablest representatives were the famous Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion. Around these two men centered the political intrigues that resulted in the direst consequences to the political status of the suffering English Catholics. There arose, in consequence, a new party among the diocesan clergy, whose cardinal principles were the retention of the old English episcopate and the adoption of a policy of conciliation toward the existing Protestant government. In the very teeth of persecution, in the very prisons, the two parties maintained a conflict terribly ruinous to the Catholic Church and cynically fomented by the agents of the government,—a conflict which it is simply heartrending to contemplate, into the details of which the

reader may at his leisure enter. We shall only cite the historian's words: "To the services of Parsons . . . the world will continue to bear witness in spite of all his failings. Yet his existence was not necessary to the greatness of his order. Its glory needs him not, and without detracting either from his merits or his powers the disciples of Ignatius may still assure themselves that their body hath many a worthier son than he."[1] The controversy, however painful, merits a place in a history of the English Benedictines from the fact that the diocesan clergy favored, as a counterpoise to the control of the Jesuits, the re-establishment of the Black Monks in England, which the former was vehemently opposed.

In the end England was *de facto* opened to the Benedictines in 1602. The next step was to graft the new Benedictines, who had come from Spain and Italy, upon the old historic tree. This was done in 1607, when before Sigebert Buckley, the last survivor of the old order in England, the new missionaries came and made their profession. Buckley also delegated his authority over the old English congregation to the Italian superior. Then came an attempt at a union of all the English Benedictines, which resulted, in 1619, in their being put under the subjection of the Spanish general, although the old character of local independence was zealously guarded. This subjection came to an end in 1661. From that time to the present day the work of Father Taunton deals with the internal organization of the order, its relations to the vicars-apostolic and the re-establishment of the hierarchy, the history of the various monasteries of St. Gregory, St. Lawrence, St. Malo, Lambspring, Cambrai and others.

It is certain that the Benedictines were much beloved in "Merry England." But if they brought to England in the past many of the blessings of religion and civilization, and were, in consequence, the recipients of the deep gratitude of the English people, it was largely due to the fact that they understood and accommodated themselves to the genius of the

[1] It is but justice to refer the reader to the criticisms of this work in the *Month* (December, 1897). The *Revue Bénédictine*, for the same month, gives a flattering notice, adding on this point, "Je ne sais si l'on doit souscrire absolument à tous les jugements portés par l'auteur sur la conduite des Jesuites en Angleterre; peut-être sur certains points y avait-il lieu d'être plus réservé." In the *Tablet* of December 25, 1897, and January 1, 1898, will be found the letters exchanged between Father Taunton and Rev. J. H. Pollen, S.J., relative to this work.

land. "Nowhere," says our author, "did the sons of St. Benedict identify themselves with the land and link themselves in love with the people, as in England. Here they were racy of the soil, and in English Benedictine hearts love of country existed side by side with love of their state."

La Personne Humaine. L'Abbé C. Piat. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1897; pp. 404.

The Abbé Piat, whose monographs on leading problems in psychology have been "crowned" by the French Academy and highly appreciated outside of France, contributes in the present volume an interesting study on a larger and more important subject. Human personality is a comprehensive topic, the discussion of which ranges over almost the entire field of psychological fact and theory. But its practical bearings are manifold and far-reaching, touching the very quick of our individual and social existence. M. Piat has kept these various aspects quite clearly in view without losing sight of the fundamental concept. Adopting the empirical method, he confronts the deliverances of consciousness with the facts of science, profits by the results of analysis and criticism, yet avoids that extreme of phenomenalism which reduces to a mere husk the rich content of mental activity. While the value of the introspective method is thus brought into the foreground, our author does not seem to realize how fully he is in accord with the progessive psychology of the day. At times, in fact, he speaks as though experiment had altogether banished introspection from modern research,—a charge which is too sweeping, since it is generally recognized that experiment has its chief value as an aid to and control upon self-observation.

In a preliminary chapter the actual state of the problem is formulated. According to the elder theory, the human person is a substance endowed with freedom; according to more recent views which reject both substance and liberty, personality is simply a complex idea or a synthesis of mental states which owes its unity to coördination or to the organism or to a fusion of many conscious groups bound together by the law of finality. Preferring the former definition, M. Piat proposes to show that

"it does not disappear entirely in view of the observations and refined experiments of contemporary psychology," but is capable of adaptation to the facts. For this purpose he takes as characteristic phenomena Perception, Reflection and the Idea of Responsibility, and to the study of each devotes one of the main divisions of his work.

The verdict of introspection is that personality, far from being a mere coördination of mental phenomena, supposes a subject; its unity is absolute. Consciousness and memory are manifestations, not constituents, of our personal identity; and this identity is "the permanence of an active principle which constitutes our being." What, then, is to be thought of those "alternations of personality" which have recently been the subject of such careful study? The answer is that, supposing these "facts" (as is not yet the case) to be fully established, they indicate, not a division of the normal Ego, but the substitution of a new Ego. Both the normal and the abnormal Ego spring from the same source, whether they appear successively or simultaneously. And the very fact that one consciousness disappears only to reappear after a longer or shorter interval, sufficiently proves that behind all these shifting appearances there is a permanent something.

This view is strengthened by the analysis of Reflection. Man not only thinks; he knows his thought, and thereby puts forth an energy which passes beyond the range of sense and imagination to the plane of abstract and universal ideas. So essentially human is this power of reflection that it cannot be accounted for by any evolutionist hypothesis. Neither in instinct nor in animal "language" do we find a trace of reflecting consciousness. And after all too much stress has been laid on this problem of our origin. Whatever our ancestry may have been, we know that we are capable of reflection and have a sense of duty: this is the point that must be safeguarded.

To treat such problems adequately a much longer discussion would be required than was possible in M. Piat's volume. The very clearness of his exposition and the frankness with which he faces each difficulty make one regret the enforced conciseness. He is happier in the final section, which deals with the Idea of Responsibility, the specific mark of personality.

Here, of course, the freedom of the will is the dominant note, and with it the verdicts of consciousness, science and reason accord. In the normal man the deliverance of consciousness on this point is unmistakable: freedom is a fact, and this fact explains the idea of responsibility,—an explanation that is possible in no other way. On the other hand, the conditions of responsibility are complex, and therefore subject to variation or even derangement. The causes which produce this rupture are manifold. The first consists in the progressive abuse of freedom. Repeated deviation from the path of rectitude weakens the natural force of will and deadens the moral sense. Then comes the exhaustion of degeneracy brought about by excesses of fortune good or evil, by overwork and by alcholism, so many fatal germs that develop rapidly in our modern civilization and that flourish perniciously in an atmosphere heated by intellectual revolution and tainted by the exhalation of a pornographic press. With such an environment, little wonder that the worst of inherited traits become more and more pronounced. But all these variations, keenly noted as they are by scientific research, by no means demolish the psychological foundation of responsibility; they only serve to mark off its limits and teach us its true value.

Examined, finally, in the light of metaphysical reason, the idea of responsibility withstands the criticism of the determinist school. For it can be shown that the self-determination of the will involves no contradiction, and that its determinations, though spontaneous, cannot be regarded as the play of chance or caprice.

In this brief outline of M. Piat's work many details of analysis which are its charm have been passed over. They, moreover, naturally refer the reader to the author's previous publications, and, in some instances, open up lines of thought which one might follow to the ultimate problems of philosophy. This suggestiveness and the adaptation of the treatise to modern views and methods give the book its actuality as well as its value.

L'Hypnotisme Franc. R. P. Coconnier, O.P. Paris: Lecoffre, 1897; pp. xii + 438.

This work, from the pen of the professor of Dogmatic Theology at the Catholic University of Freiburg, bears on its

first page the approbation of two other professors in the same institution. On the last page of the text we read that hypnotism as here treated "is not, in itself, diabolical; is not, in itself, injurious; is sometimes permitted." These conclusions apply only to hypnotism pure and simple, the author having carefully and repeatedly brushed aside the phenomena of magnetism, telepathy, occultism and the like. In the same judicious spirit, he presents the arguments both of those who condemn hypnotism and of those who favor it. His own verdict, based upon a close examination of facts and of principles, is favorable. In explaining his position, he emphasizes the views of great theologians like St. Thomas, Albertus Magnus and Suarez, and shows that they harmonize with the established teaching of modern physiology and psychology. The essential element in hypnosis is suggestion. Hypnosis, in fact, is defined as "a sleep or a state analogous to sleep in which the psychical activity of the subject is influenced and directed from without by verbal suggestion." Especially important is the rôle played by the imagination. When we remember how powerfully this faculty, even in ordinary conditions, affects the organic processes, we find a ready explanation of those modifications produced by hypnotic suggestion in various bodily functions. On the moral side, it is pointed out that the actual possession of consciousness and the actual control or direction of one's activity are not so necessarily bound up in man's nature that they can never be dispensed with. Hence, to hypnotize or to be hypnotized is not in itself immoral; though of course, wrong may be committed where hypnotism is employed without proper motives or for an evil purpose. The fact, finally, that hypnosis has been used with good results in so many cases of functional disorder proves its therapeutic value and shows that it is not, of itself and essentially, injurious.

Hypnotism and Its Application to Practical Medicine. Otto Georg Wetterstrand, M.D. Trans. by Henrik G. Petersen, M.D. With medical letters on hypnosuggestion, etc., by Petersen. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1897. Pp. 166.

In most of the works that deal with hypnotism the theoretical and psychological aspects occupy the foreground. The present volume, by a physician of Stockholm, is altogether therapeutic, and therefore practical. Such allegiance in matter of theory as is acknowledged is paid to the school of Nancy;

the efficacy of suggestion is emphasized throughout. The list of cases treated includes neuralgia, epilepsy, hysteria, rheumatism, asthma, consumption, diseases of heart, stomach and kidneys. The conclusion based on this clinical evidence is thus stated: "If asked which diseases are most adapted to treatment by suggestive theapeutics, the answer is,—functional nervous diseases." Again, "in all diseases where the will has been enfeebled, and where it is important to strengthen it, the psychic treatment possesses great advantages." Finally, attention is called to its effect when necessary to reform character. On the other hand, no claim is made for the permanency of such cures; hypnosis, in this respect, is neither better nor worse than remedies ordinaily prescribed. But if it be asked "whether hypnotic treatment by a competent physician involves any danger to the patient's life or health, the answer must be in the negative." This verdict is based upon hypnosis induced about sixty thousand times. The method itself "is based on a thorough psychic treatment, and its often observed effects are just so many proofs that our thoughts possess a great power over our bodies, when the will, in a certain degree, is limited and inactive. It is difficult for the medical profession of to-day to acknowledge this; as Bernheim says, they believe themselves able to explain all the secrets of life by mechanical, physical and chemical laws, without taking into consideration that the mind also has something to do with the human organism, and that, he continues, there exists a psycho-therapy as surely as a psycho-biology."

Sleep: Its Physiology, Pathology, Hygiene, and Psychology. Marie de Manacéine. London: Walter Scott, 1897. (Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.) Pp. VII + 341.

This is an English edition of a work already published in Russian and in French. It brings together systematically a large number of interesting facts concerning an important psychological problem, and gives very complete bibliographies on each phase of the subject. More attention might have been given to the Aristotelian view of sleep, a view which accords in large part with the determinations of modern science. Recent investigation has busied itself to a considerable extent with the physiological conditions on which sleep depends,

and, as a consequence, various explanations are in the field. The vasomotor theory lays stress on changes in the circulation, especially on cerebral anæmia. The chemical theory insists on the fact that the supply of oxygen to the brain is lowered, or on the other fact that poisons accumulate in the tissues. According to eminent histologists, sleep occurs when the nerve currents are broken either by the retraction of the cells or by the relaxation of the neuroglia. The author of this work advocates the psycho-physiological theory, which is summarized in the formula: Sleep is the resting-time of consciousness. From this point of view various phenomena, both of normal and of abnormal sleep ae discussed. The chapter on dreams is specially interesting. It does not solve all the problems, but it presents very forcibly an idea that was familiar to the older philosophy—the greater liberty of mind when the avenues of sense are closed. "In the psychic life of sleep we are brought into a vaguer and larger world than we are conscious of during waking life, the world of our once-forgotten past, and the world, it may be also, of the forgotten past of the race."

The Philosophical Basis of Economics; a word to the sociologist. By Sidney Sherwood, Ph.D., Philadelphia. American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1897. Pp. 92.

Dr. Sherwood's monograph is a protest, first, against the dominant tendency of modern scientific thinking to ignore psychic phenomena and to regard only physical phenomena as having reality; and, second, against the attempt of the current sociology—"which undertakes to apply to human activities the physical form of the evolutionary principle"—to arrogate to itself the title of "the master science of psychical activity." Economics, in the widest sense, is this "master science."

We give below a resume of Dr. Sherwood's argument,—in his own language for the most part:

The typical scientist of this century scorns philosophy and deductive thinking. He pushes his distrust of the psychical to the extreme of studying only the physical. Matter and its activities are to him the only reality, and no method of research is reliable except induction. Philosophy is a mere figment of the brain. True science sees with eyes, hears with ears, feels with fingers, rests only on tangible evidence. Yet there is a psychical *Ego,* to deny whose existence is suicidal to science, and

which is the source of various other psychical phenomena which science must study, if it would be consistent. The *Ego,* or the individual mind, works in association with other minds, like itself, and produces laws and a political organization and various social institutions. It changes the flora and fauna of the continents. It plans and shapes the destiny of other men. These are all phenomena as real as the flora and the fauna themselves, yet they are psychical phenomena, neglected by the positive science of the age. At the eleventh hour, science has begun to recognize its former unscientific neglect of psychical phenomena and is readily directing research into religion, folk-lore, language, arts, customs, governments, industries, and other subjective activities of men. This last state threatens to be worse than the first, for in these efforts science has shown a dangerous tendency to use methods, and to assume points of view characteristic of physical science. This is essentially unscientific. It must be recognized that in studying characteristic human activities, whether individual or social, we have a new order of facts essentially different from the physical.

Psychical processes are directed by mind towards chosen ends, while physical processes go on, independently of any discoverable teleology. Science must recognize this fact and must study human activities, not as physical phenomena, but as psychical. Science can not explain the existence of a railroad in the same manner as it explains the existence of a river. The forces which produced the railroad are not explicable by physical laws. A railroad is a psychical institution. The active or efficient cause is the human will.

The psychical sciences are as clear in their scope as are the physical sciences. Mind is no more elusive a fact for science than "matter" or "force." We live in the midst of psychical realities,—public opinion, law, custom, social institutions, traditional morality, courtesy of friendship and of business, customary prices—facts all,—intangible creations of the minds of the members of society. These things which make society are psychical forces and no less real than the physical. It is imperative to write psychical causation in terms of human will. To make social activity intelligible to us science must so explain it. Science must conform to the nature of the human

mind and must thus explain human achievement as the teleological result of forces guided by human intelligence. Man's will thus becomes the dominating element in social causation.

Social forces are psychical in their nature, and psychical forces proceed from the acts of individual minds. On this individual basis the structure of society is built up and social activities are carried on. The controlling force in social causation, then, is human choice, and we must perforce take the individual as the integral unit, for there is no choice but individual choice. The term "social will" is an acknowledged metaphor. There is no such unity in society that we can speak of a social will, irrespective of the individual wills, which decide and move the whole mass.

Not only are social activities best explained by resolution into the acts and chances of individuals, but the very structure of society itself—the social groups—must be so explained.

Any explanation of the state which does not find the causes of its existence and its development in the conscious acts of individuals does not find the distinctive nature of social causation. The same country, physically considered, is the home in historic succession of very different nations. The difference is due, not to the character of physical surroundings, but to psychical differences. It is not even biological differences between the North American Indian and the European which have changed the course of history on this continent. It is the psychical differences of the two peoples. Again, it is the psychical differences between the Spaniard and the Englishman which have made the latter the successful colonizer of America. Further, at every stage of growth of English settlement in America, the form of government, the nature of the political organization, are only to be explained by analyzing the fact backward into the choices of the individuals concerned. They have at every step made the state. They have changed it and developed it. A state is thus built of human choices. Political structure is nothing other than a system of habitual choices of the individuals who constitute it. It is nowhere physical or tangible. It cannot be squared to the tests of physical science. The stuff which makes it is the desires and the will of its individual constituents. We understand this as

practical politicians. As scientific sociologists we befog it with metaphors about the body politic.

There is no grouping of individuals into family, religious, political, or industrial bodies which merges the wants, the interests, the capacities, the choices, the activities of the individual in the life of the body. Always and everywhere the individual stands alone. The psychical structures which we call social institutions are simply individual choices hardened into habits. The science of social man must stick closely to this fundamental fact and build upon it.

The individualistic explanation of society is alone adequate to explain social evolution. The direction of social change depends thus upon the choices of individuals, and these choices are in their last analysis economic choices. The economic law —greatest utility with least sacrifice—is the generic law of human activity, both that which is directed to preserve the status and that which aims at social evolution.

Admitting the universality of the thesis that the principle of utility is the determinant in human choice, economics, of which the generic law is utility, becomes the master science of psychical activities; and sociology one of the special economic sciences.

The tendency of sociology to explain society by extending the operation of the cosmic laws of matter beyond biology into the psychical phenomena of society, and thus to work out a physical science of society is really unintelligible. It does violence to our primary judgments. In not taking the individualistic view of social causation sociology violates the most fundamental of axiomatic truths.

Further, sociology can not make good its claim to be the master science of man's activities, for it studies man simply with reference to his association with other men. It cannot include the sciences which assume the standpoint of the individual and explain man's actions always in terms of the individual. To make society intelligible we must accept the principle of economic selection, or utility, as the universal law of social causation, and, in our science of society, we must abandon the unscientific attempt of the earlier sociology to wrest the laws of physical causation into an impossible explanation of the teleological phenomena of men in society.

ANALECTA.

———The twenty-sixth annual convention of the National Prison Association was held in San Antonio, Tex., during the first days of December. The delegates were largely men and women actively connected with prisons, such as wardens, directors of boys' and girls' reformatories. The chief topics of discussion were Convict Labor, Employment of Convicts where productive labor is forbidden, Reform of Criminal Jurisprudence, Prison Discipline and Parole Law. An extended and spirited discussion of corporal punishment took place. The delegates from South and West, chiefly Texas, Colorado, Missouri, and Arkansas, where it is actually employed, favored it strongly as part of regular prison discipline.

———The Committee on Criminal Law Reform recognizing the alarming progress of crime, recommended the following measures of reform and prevention as far as they are practical: Greater security of punishment; doing away with all technicalities in trials; abolishment of juries, making conviction more summary and trial more speedy; depriving defendants of the right to appeal to higher court; offering rewards for the discovery and conviction of criminals; sterilization of defectives, both moral and physical; abolishment of poverty; removing or restricting the power to pardon; prohibiting the use of intoxicating liquors; reconstruction of the ethical code of lawyers, curing important defects in the law as distinguished from its enforcement; developing a scientific motherhood; State regulation of marriage; restricting immigration; popular education and colonization of criminals; the reformation of criminals by the abolishment of the definite sentence.

———The Bulletin of the Department of Labor for November, 1897, contains a summary of the forthcoming Ninth Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor, on the Italians in Chicago. The report is the result of an investigation, commenced in April, 1896, into the social and economic condition

of Italian families residing in the slum districts of Chicago. In all, 1,348 families, embracing 6,773 persons, were investigated. The report promises to be an important contribution to social and economic science, and its value is enhanced by the fact that the investigation has been conducted along the same lines as the Department's wider investigation into the slums of great cities in 1893. Comparison is thus made possible between the conditions of this particular race and those of the slum population as a whole. Statistical tables have a value that only the trained student of social conditions can appreciate to the full, but much of the data in this report is brought out in such a way that it can not fail to bring facts in a very vivid way before readers of every sort. The discussion of the matter of the food of these families, for example, gives us a picture whose significance it is hard to miss. The dietaries of some of the laboring men were gotten for the month of August, and the "menus" speak for themselves,—for example:

"No. 14. Age 23; single. Eats no breakfast. Lunch: Ham or sausage with bread and peppers. Supper: Occasionally, round steak; usually, macaroni only, or potatoes and cabbage; beer unknown."

Or, again:

"Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7. Day laborers. Food for each, breakfast and lunch: Five cents' worth of summer sausage; 1 pound bread. Supper: Three boiled eggs or head cheese; bread.

Here is one of the most elaborate menus:

"No. 13. Age 24; single; day laborer. Breakfast and lunch: One pound pork chops every morning, one-half for breakfast and one-half for lunch; peppers three times per week; bread and five cents worth of beer daily. Supper: Macaroni and beans, or peppers and potatoes, or beef and potatoes (beef three times per week); five cents worth of beer."

These men are all single. Some notion may be gleaned of what the "dietary" of a man of family would look like from the table giving the average weekly cost of food as reported by 742 families. A family of six persons expend for food $4.28 per week, and a family of ten $8.37 per week. If one wishes to know how some of the other half live, the data can be found here in abundance, and even those who grow weary

of statistics can find enough outside the statistical tables to form a very good picture. For the careful student of social economics the report will be most valuable.

———The seventeenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor was held in Nashville, during the week beginning December 13th. One hundred delegates were present, representing international, national, state and local labor unions with a membership of about a million. Samuel Gompers was re-elected president, this being his sixteenth term. The next convention will be held in Kansas City, in December 1898.

Among the resolutions adopted by the convention were the following: Favoring reasonable restrictions of immigration on the lines of educational tests as proposed in the Lodge bill; favoring government ownership of telegraph lines; demanding the appointment of factory inspectors where such do not exist; demanding the amendment of the Constitution so that the Supreme Court may not have power to set aside laws enacted by the people, and a like limitation of the powers of State Supreme Courts; protesting against the annexation of Hawaii, against anti-scalping legislation, and against the appointment of Judge Paxson, of Pennsylvania, as member of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

NECROLOGY.

Louis Mas-Latrie, professor of Diplomatic Science in the Ecole des Chartes of Paris, died January 3, 1897, at the age of eighty-two. He did a great deal for the science of history in France by his influence, teaching and writings. A specialist in oriental history, he devoted most of his energies to the mediæval history of the isle of Cyprus. Prominent among his works we may mention: Inscriptions de Chypre et de Constantinople, 1 vol. 1850; Histoire de l'isle de Chypre sous le regne des princes de la maison de Lusignan, 3 vols. in 8. 1852–1861; Traités de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'afrique septentrionale au moyen-âge, 2 vols. in 8. 1865–1873; Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'isle de Chypre sous le regne des princes de la maison de Lusignan, 1 vol. in 4. 1882." He composed also the Dictionnaire de statistique religieuse in the Theological Encyclopedia of Migne, and in 1889 he published his Trésor de chronologie, d'histoire, et de geographie 1 vol. in fol. A complete bibliography of Mas-Latrie's works appeared in the *Polybiblion* February, 1897.

Louis Viviers de Saint-Martin, died January 3, 1897, aged 96 years. He commenced his geographical publications in 1822. His chief work is the Dictionnaire de géographie universelle, in 7 volumes in 4. (1877–1895.) He was not spared to finish the superb atlas which will accompany the work. It will, however, be completed by those who were identified with him in his labors. A list of his publications appears in the *Polybiblion,* February, 1897.

Karl Weierstrass, the eminent mathematician, professor at the Berlin University since 1864, died Febuary 14, at the age of eighty-one. His greatest work was done in analytical, algebraic and elliptic functions. His writings appeared in the Journal de Crelle, and in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy.

The academy has collected and published them all under the name Mathematische Werke in 8 volumes, three of Memoirs and five of his Lectures. The great man was a devoted Catholic, his father having been a convert.

Emil Lamp read an interesting account of his life before the Physics Society of Berlin March 5. Another appeared in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques,* in which we find described a touching testimonial to the great mathematician. When he was unable to leave his house, owing to the infirmities of age, his former students arranged to visit him regularly in turn, to converse with him on scientific questions and current happenings, in all of which he retained an active interest to the last.

Albert Lecoy de la Marche, assistant director of the historical section of the National Archives of Paris, and former professor of the Catholic Institute, died February 22, 1897. A devoted Catholic, he published a large number of polemical works on history, bearing chiefly on the thirteenth century. The following are among his writings: De l'autorité de Gregoire de Tours: étude critique sur le texte de l'histoire des Francs, 1 vol., 1861; Histoire de l'histoire, 1 vol., 1862. La chaire Française au moyen-âge, specialement au XIII. siècle, 1 vol., 1868. Le Roi René, 2 vols. in 8, 1875; La Sociéte au XIII. siècle, in 12, 1880; Saint Martin, 1887. Saint Louis, son gouvernement et sa politique, 1887. Le treizième siècle littéraire et scientifique, 1 vol., 1888. Le treizieme siècle artistique, 1 vol., 1884, Les relations poitiques de la France avec le royaume de Majorque, 1 vol., 1892; La peinture religeuse, 1 vol. in 4, 1892.

Henry Drummond, professor at the University of Glasgow, died March 11, aged 45. His best known works are: Natural Law in the Spiritual World, 1883; Natural Law and Miracles, 1885; The Greatest Thing in the World, 1890; Programme of Christianity, an address, 1894; The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man, 1894. A study on Drummond by W. R. Nicoll may be found in the March *Contemporary Review.*

Antoine d'Abbadie, astronomer, geodetist, geographer, physician, numismatist, philologian, died March 20, at the age of 87. While still a young man, he conceived the project of exploring Africa. Having prepared himself by six years study,

during which time he went to Brazil to observe the variations in the magnetic needle, he set about the work in 1836. He spent ten years exploring Ethiopia, achieving scientific results of the greatest value. His principal writings are: Catalogue raisonné de manuscrits éthiopiens, 1 vol. in 4, 1859. Resumé géodésique des positions déterminées en Ethiopie, 1 vol. in 4, 1859. Géodésie d'Ethiopie ou Triangulation d'une parite de la haute Ethiopie, 4 vol. in 4, 1860–1873; Observations relatives à la physique du globe, faites au Brésil et en Ethiopie, 1 vol. in 4, 1873; Dictionnaire de la langue Amariñña, 1 vol. in 8. D'Abbadie was a fervent Catholic. During his explorations in Ethiopia, he was constantly making exertions to implant the Catholic faith there. It was at his suggestion that Gregory XVI. sent missionaries to carry on the work. When the Société Scientifique, of Brussels, whose object is to show, by facts, the harmony of science and faith, was founded in 1876, D'Abbadie was an enthusiastic promoter of the organization, having been one of its presidents. He published in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques,* the organ of the society, a work on the abolition of African slavery. He gave his estate, called Abbadia, in Southern France, to the Academy of Sciences of Paris. The academy may carry on any kind of research, found laboratories and the like, as it wishes, provided that vivisection be never practiced; it must rent the land to thirty-five farmers who are now on the estate, to their children, or, these lacking, preferably to Basques. The conditions of the grant provide furthermore for the establishment of an observatory at Abbadia, where a catalogue of 500,000 stars must be made, the work to be confided to religious and to be completed before 1950. Other details may be found in the *Revue des Questions Scientifiques,* April, 1897.

Henri d'Orleans, Duc d'Aumale, a member of the French Academy, died May 6, at his residence in Zucco, Sicily, aged 75. He wrote a number of works, the chief among them being "Histoire des princes de Condé," in 6 volumes.

Duilhe de Saint-Projet, professor of Apologetics and Rector of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, died May 17, aged 75. His principal work, "Apologie scientifique de la foi Catholique,"

has been translated into several languages. By his teaching, his writings, and his activity in the establishment of the International Catholic Congresses he rendered enduring service to the Church.

Francisco Garcia Ayuso, a Spanish philologian, died May 16. His best known works are a comparative grammar of Indo-European languages and a study on the relations of philology to Sanscrit. He also made studies on the Iranians and Zoroaster.

Edmond Le Blant, member of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, as remarkable in his devotion to religion as to learning, died July 6, aged 79. Though employed for thirty years in the department of finance of the French Government, he was a constant student, and he left many proofs of great erudition in his archaeological works. In 1883 he was made director of the Ecole de Rome, which position he retained till 1889. A large number of articles from his pen appeared in the *Mémories de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres,* the *Revue archéologique,* the *Gazette archéologique,* the *Memoires et Bulletins de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France,* the *Gazette de beaux-arts* and the *Correspondant.* Aside from them, his principal works are: Histoire artistique industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine, 3 vols. in 4, 1861; Les inscriptions chrétiennes de la Gaule antérieures au VIII. siècle, 2 vols., 4, 1856–1865; Manuel d' epigraphie chrétienne, 1 vol. in 12, 1869; Nouveau receuil des inscriptions de la Gaule antérieures au VIII. siècle, 1 vol., 4, 1889. Jacquement was associated with him in preparing his history of porcelain.

Etienne Vacherot died July 28, aged 87. He led an active life, having been an energetic leader in the rationalistic and democratic movements in France. He publised the Cours d'histoire de la philosophie morale of V. Cousin in five volumes, and many articles in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes.* He is the author of the following works also: Histoire critique de l'école d'Alexandrie, 3 vols., 1846–1851: La Métaphysique et la Science, 2 vols., in 8 or 3 vols. in 12; La Démocratie, 1 vol. in

12, 1860; Essais de philosophie critique, 1 vol. in 8, 1864; La religion, 1 vol. in 8, 1868; La Science et la Conscience, 1 vol. in 12, 1870; Le nouveau spiritualisme, 1 vol. in 8, 1884.

Franciscus Xavier Simonet, professor of Arabic at the University of Grenada, died at Madrid, July 9. His reputation rests chiefly on the edition of a Spanish Martyrology in Arabic, with a Latin translation and annotations in Spanish. He published also a Glossaria de las voces ibericas y latinas usadas entre los Mozarabes, Madrid, 1889 in 4, and Tercero concilio Toletano, Madrid, 1881.

Alfred von Arneth, director of the archives of Vienna since 1868, died July 30, aged 78. He acquired a great reputation by his writings on Austria in the eighteenth century, particularly on Maria Theresa. His chief works are: Prinz Eugen von Savoyen, Wien 1858, 3 vols. Maria Theresia's erste Regierungs jahre, Wien 1863, 1 vol. Maria Theresia und Marie Antoinette, Ihr Briefwechsel während der Jahre, 1770–1780, Wien 1865. Maria Theresia und Joseph II. Ihre Correspondenz sammt Briefen Joseph II. an seinem Bruder Leopold, Wien 1867, 3 vols. Maria Theresia nach dem Erbefolgekriege, Wien 1869. Joseph II. und Leopold von Tuscana, Ihr Briefwechsel, Wien 1872. Marie Antoinette, correspondence sécréte entre Marie Thérèse et le comte de Mercy-Argenteau, Paris, 1874, 3 vols. Maria Theresia und der siebenjährige Krieg, Wien 1875, 2 vols. Maria Theresia's letzte Regierungszeit, Wien 1876–79. 4 vols. Die Wiener Universität unter Maria Theresia, Wien 1879. Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia an ihre Kinder und Freunde, Wien 1881, 4 vols. Correspondance sécréte du Comte de Mercy Argenteau avec Joseph II. et le Comte de Kaunitz, Paris, 1891, 2 vols. Aus meinem Leben, Stuttgart, 1893, 2 vols. In addition to this long list of works, von Arneth published many articles in reviews, chiefly in the *Archiv für Osterreichische Geschichte.*

Léon Gautier, professor of paleography in the Ecole des Chartes of Paris, died suddenly, August 25, after a long active life consecrated entirely to religion and science. The following are his best known publications: An edition of

the poetical works of Adam de St. Victor, 2 vols. in 18. Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen-âge, Paris, 1886. Epopées françaises, 2e edit., Paris, 1878–97, 5 vols. Chanson de Roland, Paris, 1872. La Chevalerie, Paris, 1884. He published numerous apologetical and popular doctrinal works, and was identified with many periodicals, chief among them being the *Revue des Questions Historiques* and the *Polybiblion.*

Wilhelm Wattenbach died September 20 at Frankfort-on-the-Main; aged, 78. In 1843 his active connection with the publication of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica began; in 1855 he became archivist of Breslau; in 1862 he entered the Heidelburg University as professor, leaving there to enter the University of Berlin in 1873.

He published many works in the publications of learned bodies and in periodicals. His writings on Greek and Latin paleography and his History of Writing in the Middle Ages won for him a wide reputation. His best known work, however, is that on the Sources of the History of Germany during the Middle ages.

Dom Tosti, an illustrious Benedictine monk, formerly abbot of Monte Cassino and librarian of the Vatican, died September 24. Remarkable for his learning and love of country as well as for his devotion to the interests of the Church and the Holy See, he left in the 18 volumes of his collected writings an enduring proof of his genius. The works are arranged in the following order: Vol. 1. La Contessa Matilde; II. and III. Storia di Bonifazio; IV. and V. Scritti varii; VI. Storia della lega lombarda; VII. Storia di Abelardo; VIII. Recodi biblici; IX.–X. Storia del concilio di Costanza; XI. La congiura di Catilina et la guerra di Giugurta; XII. Prolegomeni alla Storia universale della Chiesa; XIII. Storia dell'origine dello scisma greco; XIV.–XVII. Storia della Badia di Monte Cassino; XVIII. Della vita di S. Benedetto.

Thomaso Vallauri, one of the most noted Latinists of our time, died at the advanced age of 96 in September. His entire life was devoted to the study and teaching of belles-lettres. Aside from editions of the classics he published many works on literature, pedagogics, history and archæology. Some of them

are: Storia della poesia en Piemonte, 2 vols. in 8, 1841; Delle società littararie del Piemonte, 1 vol., 1844; Storia delle università, degli studi nel Piemonte, 3 vol. 1845–46. Historia critica litterarum latinarum, 1 vol. in 8, 1849. De latinis christianae sapientiae scriptoribus, 1 vol. in 8, 1845. De italorum doctrina acalumniis Th. Mommsenii vindicata, 1 vol. in 8, 1872. De causis neglectae latinitatis, 1 in 8, 1873. Vita di Tomaso Vallauri, scritta da esso 1 vol. in 16, 1878.

Frederic Eugene Godefroy died in September. His pedagogical writings and editions of the classics are well known. He was prominently identified with many Catholic reviews and papers. His chief production is the Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, 10 vols. in 4, 1880–1896—a work of extensive research and immense labor.

Henry George died during the campaign which preceded the election of the first Mayor of Greater New York, a few days before election, he himself having been a candidate for the office. His writings, his life and character were discussed so extensively at the time of his death that extended notice is superfluous. His chief works are: Progress and Poverty, Social Problems, The Land Question; Property in Land (controversy with the Duke of Argyl), A Perplexed Philosopher (Spencer), Open Letter to Pope Leo XIII. on the Condition of Labor.

Justin Windsor, librarian of Harvard University, died October 22, aged 66. Before going to Harvard he was for some years in charge of the Boston public library. His chief works are: Bibliography of the Original Quartos and Folios of Shakespeare, 1876; Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution, 1879; Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography; Narrative and Critical History of America, 8 vols. (editor). The January *American Historical Review* has an article on him by E. Channing, in which the writer pays him this tribute: "In him American history lost its foremost student, America lost its foremost librarian, and hosts of students living in all parts of the country lost a devoted friend, whose unfailing knowledge was always at their disposal."

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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WAS THE POET SEDULIUS AN IRISHMAN?

The nationality of the fifth-century Christian poet known as Sedulius has long been one of the vexed questions in the history of Roman literature. His verse is so genuinely Virgilian, and his feeling and tastes are so purely classical, that to some it has always seemed improbable that he should have first seen the light outside the circle of Roman culture and training. Moreover, his Christianity is so orthodox and his mind so theological, that it has seemed equally improbable that he should have come from an environment at once pagan and barbarian. Hence, the modern historians of Roman and Latin Christian literature, as a rule, reject the opinion, held by many of their predecessors, that Sedulius was an Irishman. The principal reason of this attitude is the accepted weakness of the hypothesis that the poet Sedulius is the same person as the theologian and grammarian Sedulius, who wrote a commentary on the Pauline Epistles, a work that apparently belongs to the ninth century.[1]

[1] This is the pedagogue Sedulius Scotus, who flourished about 848–860, at the court of Ludwig II., especially in the schools of Liège and Milan. He was known as commentator of the Scriptures, Greek philologian, scribe, poet, philosopher and educator. Though he lived four centuries after the author of the Carmen Paschale, he is not unlike him in versatility of genius and breadth of culture. Cf. Ludwig Traube, O Roma Nobilis! (Munich, 1891, pp. 42–76.) Traube has shown (ib., p. 43) that this Sedulius is the same as the one mentioned by Goldast, and that the latter historian invented the authorship of one Hepidannus for the statement in the Annals of St. Gall (ad annum 818): "Sedulius Scotus clarus habetur," by virtue of which the historians of mediæval literature felt bound to accept a second, but earlier, ninth-century Sedulius. A bishop Sedulius signed the decrees of the Roman Council of 721, where he is put down as "Episcopus Britanniae de genere Scotorum." Mansi, Coll. Ampliss. Conc., vol. XII. p. 262.

This seems to be the only argument of Ussher.[1] It also formed the opinions of Cellarius, Arntzen, Barth, Vossius, and other editors and students of Sedulius, who hold that he was a native of Scotland. In this they were misled by the later mediæval transposition of the terms *Scotia* and *Scoti* from Ireland to the northern part of the isle of Britain. Arevalo, in his excellent edition of Sedulius, is inclined to the same view, though he suspects the strength of the argument.[2]

If Trithemius (d. 1516) had given reliable sources for the brief notice of Sedulius in his work "De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis," there might be no longer any reason to doubt this learned tradition, which, after all, boasted until lately of no written authority older than Trithemius himself.[3]

The mention of a Hildebert as "archbishop of the Irish" in the fifth century is, alone, enough to discredit this statement of Trithemius; indeed it shows that he was laboring under a confusion similar to that of Ussher and his followers.

It is by no means certain that Sedulius was a Roman or even an Italian. The latest and best criticism leaves his origin shrouded in doubt. Manutius says that we know of this most famous of early Christian poets only the few details he himself furnishes in his two letters to his friend and patron, Macedonius. Gaston Boissier[4] tells us that of the life of Sedulius but little is known,[5] and Bardenhewer[6] says that only very imperfect information has reached us as to the life of Sedulius.

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[1] De patria sua Sedulius noster dubitare nos non sinit, cum in epistolarum suarum exordio, ut ex Trithemio intelleximus, Sedulium Scottigenam se nuncupet, ejusdemque in epistolas Paulinas annotationes, ex Fuldensi vetustatis adorandae exemplari editae hanc inscriptionem praeferant: Sedulii Scoti Hiberniensis in omnes Epistolas Pauli Collectaneum. Britannicae Eccl. Primordia, c. 16.

[2] Caelii Sedulii Opera Omnia, etc., Romae, 1794, 4°, Migne PL., vol. XIX. "Huic sane sententiae veluti ex communi traditione vigenti libens accedam : sed vellem eam validioribus argumentis posse confirmari," p. 439.

[3] "Sedulius presbyter natione Scotus, Hildeberti Scotorum archiepiscopi ab ineunte aetate discipulus, vir in divinis Scripturis exercitatus, et in saecularibus litteris eruditissimus, carmine excellens et prosa, amore discendi Scotiam relinquens, venit in Franciam, deinde Italiam perlustravit, et Asiam, postremo Achaiae finibus excedens in urbe Roma mirabili doctrina clarus effulsit." According to Sixtus Senensis (Bibl. Sancta, bk. IV) he travelled also through Britain and Spain, and indeed over the whole world, seeking, like another Apollonius of Tyana, the wisdom that ever fled before him.

[4] Geschichte der Christlich-lateinischen Poesie, Stuttgart, 1891, p. 303.

[5] *Journal des Savants*, Sept., 1881, p. 554.

[6] Patrologie, Freiburg, 1894, p. 421.

It would seem, therefore, that the question is still an open one, and that the opinion of the earlier editors of his works might yet be maintained,—of course with those better arguments that Arevalo desired.

In one of the oldest manuscripts of Sedulius (Codex Gothanus, I. 75, of the eighth century) we read that Sedulius, the verse-maker, was at first a layman, and acquired in Italy a knowledge of philosophy. Afterward, while in Achaia, he wrote his books in heroic metre, by the advice of Macedonius and others. This happened in the reign of Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. (423–450). A similar note is found in subsequent manuscripts of Sedulius (e. g. the tenth century Vat. Ottobonianus, n. 35).[1]

If the scribe thought that Sedulius were an Italian by birth, would it not seem irrelevant to call attention to the fact that he studied philosophy "in Italia"? What more natural than that he should frequent the schools of his native land? It has been suggested that he might have been born a Roman, and acquired his early training at Milan or elsewhere in Italy. To this it may be replied, that this detail of the life of Sedulius has reached us in a manuscript of Anglo-Saxon or Irish origin; hence the stress laid on the studies of Sedulius in Italy is quite natural in the supposition that the birthplace of Sedulius was that of the northern eighth-century scribe of the Codex Gothanus. A twelfth-century manuscript (Vatican. Palat. n. 242),[2] says that our poet was first a "laicus gentilis, sed in Italia philosophiam didicit, dein ad Dominum conversus et a Macedonio baptizatus, in Arcadiam venit, ubi hunc librum composuit." The antithesis suggested by "gentilis" may as well be between "Barbarian" and "Italian," as between "Gentile" and "Christian." In any case the appellation of "gentilis" rather strengthens the view of those who maintain that Sedulius was born in Ireland.

[1] Incipit ars Sedulii poetae, qui primo laicus in Italia philosophiam didicit, postea cum aliis metrorum generibus heroicum metrum, Macedonio consulente, docuit in Achaia. Libros suos scripsit in tempore imperatorum minoris Theodosii filii Arcadii, et Valentiniani, filii Constantii." Arevalo, Migne PL., XLVIII., p. 437.

[2] Arevalo, l. c. p. 436,

Doubtless, the time had not yet come when Ireland was to send forth her sons by thousands, to evangelize the continent, so that the habit of expatriation became a second nature to them.[1] Nevertheless, the relations between Ireland and the continent had been growing more frequent since the time of Agricola,[2] when that general bore witness to the existence of trade between Ireland and the continent, and to the fact that exiled or discontented chiefs found hospitality in the shadow of the Roman eagles. There is an ancient tradition of the church of Toul, that its first bishop was an Irishman, Mansuetus.[3] The story of the Irish King Dathi, and his invasion of the Alpine territory of Rome (428) is well known.[4] It was a period of constant warfare between the Irish and the Romanized Britons,[5] when the Britannic Legion was famous for its valiant service against the Irish and the Picts.[6] We may well believe that before the time of St. Patrick, some "filii Scottorum et filiae regularum"[7] had been attracted to the continent, members, perhaps, of the few pre-Patrician churches that seem to have existed[8] in Ireland, or souls like those "Scoti in Christum credentes" of whom Prosper speaks in his Chronicle.[9]

They might be moved, as, in his "Confession," Patrick tells us he was, "by the gift so great and beneficial, to know God and to love Him, to leave country and parents and many gifts." In that trait of the "Confession," where St. Patrick relates the vision of Victoricus coming to him from Ireland,

[1] Walafrid Strabo, "Quibus mos peregrinandi paene in naturam conversa est. Acta SS. Oct. VII. (11), p. 908.

[2] Agricola, c. 24. "Aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti."

[3] Mansuetus, primus Tullensium episcopus, nobili Scotorum genere oriundus. Acta Tullens. episcop. ap. Martene et Durand. Thes. Nov. Anecd. III. 991. Cf. Haddan and Stubbs. Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, vol. II, part II, p. 289.

[4] Cf. Annals of the Four Masters, ad an. 428, and Tribes and Customs of Ua Fiachrach, pp. 17-27.

[5] Totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
Claudian, In Cons. Stilich. II. 251-252.

[6] Quae Scoto dat fraena truci, ferroque notatas
Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras.
Id., De Bello Getico, vv. 417-418.

[7] Confessio Scti Patricii, Whitley Stokes, Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, II. 369.

[8] Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, l. c. p. 291.

[9] Ad an. 431. Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Coelestino Palladi primus Episcopus mittitur.

"with innumerable letters" that began with "The Voice of the Irish," may we not see some incipient but general movement of the national spirit towards a wider field of action?

Among the contemporary Christian writers, Caelestius, the follower of Pelagius, seems to have been an Irishman, (if, with Haddan and Stubbs, we are to apply to him the sharp objurgations of St. Jerome)[1] and, like Sedulius, to have been attracted by the monastic life: according to Gennadius, he wrote letters to his parents from a monastery.[2]

It would not, therefore, be *a priori* improbable if, besides the scholarly and eloquent Caelestius, more dreaded for his style and his energy than any other western heretic,[3] Ireland should have bestowed upon the early Christian Church her most famous poet in the person of the author of the "Carmen Paschale," and the melodious Christmas hymn, "A Solis Ortus Cardine."

Perhaps, in this christianized treatment of the sun, and in the implicit antithetic reference to Christ as the "princeps" and the "beatus auctor saeculi" that we meet with in the first lines of this hymn, we may recognize a faint index of the nationality of Sedulius. In the Carmen Paschale itself, he refutes at length the worship of the sun, moon and stars.[4] Now it is well known that the pagan Irish of the early fifth century were the chief sun, moon, and star worshippers of the West, and an ancient tradition, recorded in the Four Masters (ad an. 457), relates how an Irish king, contemporary of Sedulius, was slain by these elements because he had violated an oath taken upon them. St. Patrick himself did not disdain, in one of the few literary fragments of his that have reached

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[1] Nec recordatur stolidissimus et Scotorum pultibus praegravatus, etc. Comm. in Jerem. Prolog. (circa 416) . . . Ipseque (diabolus) mutus latrat per Alpinum canem, grandem et corpulentum, et qui calcibus magis possit saevire quam dentibus. Habet enim progeniem Scoticae gentis, de Britannorum vicinia, etc. Ibid. lib. III. praef.

[2] De monasterio epistolas in modum libellorum tres, omni Deum desideranti necessarias, parentibus dedisse. Gennad., De script. eccl. c. 44.

[3] Cf. Garnier, in Migne P. L. XLVIII. p. 279.

[4] Ast alii solem, caecatis mentibus acti
Affirmant rerum esse patrem, quia rite videtur
Clara serenatis infundere lumina terris
Et totum lustrare polum. Carmen Paschale I. 248-251.

us, to work over what seems to have been an old Gaelic sun charm, and make of it his famous "Breast-Plate" prayer.[1]

More than once, in the two letters to Macedonius that precede the Carmen and its prose rendering, the Opus Paschale, Sedulius refers to the sea, as one who had personal and intimate experience of it. He says (Migne l. c. p. 547), "procellosis adhuc imbribus concussae ratis vela madentia tumentis pelagi rursus fatigationi commisi," speaks of the "longa maris circuitio," and of "portus et littora quae dudum praetereundo lustravi."

In view of the constant mediæval tradition as to his travels, culminating in the sweeping statement of Sixtus Senensis, these phrases are not without some importance.

If we could only know whence came the companions of his stay in Achaia, some light on his origin might come from that source. Is it too bold to see in Ursinus[2] a Christian bishop attached to the Roman legions in the West, and therefore, perhaps, in contact with the Irish and the Picts, who were among the most troublesome of the barbarians in the last decades of the fourth and the early ones of the fifth century?

In summing up the authorities for the Irish origin of Sedulius, Arevalo, who favors it, says that he could find no trustworthy assertion of it earlier than Trithemius. We are better off than Arevalo, and can offer a witness of the early part of the ninth century,—Dicuil, the Irish scribe and author of a curious little work on geography, entitled "De Mensura Orbis Terrae," "On the Measurement of the Earth." It is a work based on Pliny's Natural History, on Solinus and the imperial survey of Theodosius I.,—the latter work known to us only

[1] Cf. Haddan and Stubbs, l. c. p. 320, The Lorica of St. Patrick (Patricii Canticum Scotticum) I cite the following strophe:

I bind to myself to-day
The power of Heaven,
The light of the Sun,
The whiteness of Snow,
The force of Fire,
The flashing of Lightning,
The velocity of Wind,
The depth of the Sea,
The stability of the Earth,
The hardness of Rocks.

[2] "Habes antistitem plenum reverentiae sacerdotalis Ursinum, qui ab aetatis suae primaevae *tirocinio* regis aeterni *castra* non deserens *vixit inter barbaros* pius, inter bella pacatus." Migne l. c., p. 540.

through the book of Dicuil.[1] This writer, certainly an Irishman, and probably a scribe of Clonmacnoise, furnishes the only original geographical work of the Latin Middle Ages. In commenting on the famous twelve lines that describe the plan of the general survey ordered by Theodosius, he calls attention to certain apparently faulty verses, and remarks that the seeming error has for it the authority of Virgil, "whom in such cases *our Sedulius* imitated. [2] Traube[3] will have it that *noster* here means "Christian" in opposition to the "Pagan" Virgil. Dümmler had already (Neues Archiv. IV. 316) shown that the Sedulius referred to could be no other than the Christian poet, though Teuffel was of the opinion that the *noster* indicated the grammarian Sedulius, contemporary and friend of Dicuil.[4]

But elsewhere Dicuil (p. 44) speaks of "heremitae ex *nostra* Scotia," and the reference to the *versus heroici* of Sedulius makes it certain that Dicuil had before him the tradition that is consigned in a contemporary (ninth century) manuscript [5] (Gothanus I. 75), and which we have already mentioned (p. 157).

There can, then, be no reasonable doubt that Dicuil believed the poet to have been of his own race, and that he was proud of the fact, for at the first mention of Virgil the memory of Sedulius, this "Maro mutatus in melius," comes back to him, as well as his astounding masterpiece in hexameter,—the "Carmen Paschale" or metrical paraphrase of the four gospels.

Dicuil is believed to have been very old when he wrote these lines in 825, and as he was formed in the schools of Ireland, he represents an untroubled domestic tradition,—a learned tradition of scribes and pedagogues,—that goes back easily to the best days of the early Irish Church, those previous to the inroads of the Danes. The national piety of the Irish was already proverbial (Bede, H. E. III., 25), and their devotion

[1] Wattenbach, Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen, 4th ed., 1877, I. 125. Bellesheim, Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland. Mainz, 1890, I. 291.

[2] Non imperitia (egit?), sed auctoritate aliorum poetarum et maxime Virgilii, quem in talibus causis *noster* simulavit *Sedulius*, qui in *heroicis carminibus* raro pedes alienos ab illis posuerunt, De Mensura Orbis Terrae, ed. Parthey, Berlin, 1870, p. 20.

[3] O Roma Nobilis! p. 44.

[4] Geschichte der roemischen Literatur, 1870, § 443, 8, p. 986.

[5] Huemer, Sedulii Opera Omnia, recensuit et commentario critico instruxit Johannes Huemer. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latin., vol. X, Vienna, 1885, p. viii.

to the Latin classics notorious. It is not wonderful therefore that one of their schoolmasters should have recalled to the poetasters of the Carlovingian time that the Christian Virgil was "Scottigena." Moreover, Dicuil was one of the teachers who created the Carlovingian renaissance, and his statement was likely, if false, to meet severe criticism from the Frankish savants at the court who made great use of the writings of Sedulius, as Huemer has shown (l. c. pp. 361–371). That the Frankish savants were jealous of men like Dicuil, may be seen from the subjoined verses. They come from the pen of no less a man than Dicuil's contemporary, the bishop Theodulf of Orleans.[1]

A comparison of style between the poet Sedulius and other Irish Christian writers, is, of course, out of the question. When, later, the Irish learned to write good Latin, it was in another world that they moved and thought. But perhaps it is not out of place to call attention to the tendency of his prose, so different from his admirable verse. Already this prose foreshadows the bombastic "Hisperica Famina," that Zimmer has located within a hundred years or less of the death of Sedulius.[2] The "horridula epistula," as Cellarius calls the dedication of the "Carmen Paschale" to Macedonius, is written quite in the turgid and affected style of the "Scottigenum Eulogium" or euphuistic Latin of the Cymro-Irish monasteries of the sixth century.

Is it possible that Sedulius followed for a while the practice of law, and that Paschasius Radbertus was right when he called him "Rhetor Romanae Ecclesiae?" His countryman and contemporary, Caelestius, was "auditorialis scholasticus," that is, an advocate. He was also of noble birth, and possessed an "incredibilis loquacitas," as the historians of Pelagianism tell us.[3] Sedulius, in the dedication of his

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[1] Stet Scotellus ibi, res sine lege furens,
Res dira, hostis atrox, hebes horror, pestis acerba,
Litigiosa lues, res fera, grande nefas,
Theodulfi Carmina, III. Migne CV. 316.

[2] Nennius Vindicatus, Berlin, 1893, pp. 292-340.

[3] Marius Mercator, Praef. in libr. subnotat, in verba Juliani, n. 4. Migne XLVIII. p. 114.

"Opus Paschale" to Macedonius, recalls the fact that the author of the Codex Hermogenianus made three editions of his work before he was satisfied.[1] It is not impossible, therefore, that he followed at Rome the only lucrative profession that hard study then led up to, viz., the law, and that thereby he acquired his unpleasing decadent style in prose, whereas, by diligent study of Virgil, he acquired no little of that master's musical sweetness as well as the smooth flow of language that distinguished the Mantuan.[2] Perhaps, too, he brought to the poet's task the native Irish skill in intricate metre, and a certain grave amplitude and picturesqueness that are never absent from his pages, and are seen in distinctive Irish texts not too remote from him. The hymn "A Solis Ortus Cardine" is an alphabetic hymn, i. e., each strophe begins with a letter of the alphabet. It may be worth noting that the contemporary hymn of St. Secundinus on St. Patrick, "Audite Omnes,"[3] is also an alphabetic hymn, and that it, too, rests on the number of syllables and on the accent, though it has no rhymes, and is written in a semi-barbarous Latin.

The oldest and best manuscripts of Sedulius are intimately connected with the Irish monasteries on the Continent.[4] The Codex Ambrosianus and the Codex Taurinensis, both of the latter half of the seventh century, were originally the property of the Irish monastery of Bobbio, and have each the well-known mark, "Liber sci Columbani de bobio."

The Codex Gothanus (I. 75) of the eighth century is written in an Anglo-Saxon hand,[5] and the Basiliensis of the same

[1] Cognoscant Hermogenianum doctissimum jurislatorem tres editiones sui operis confecisse. Migne, l. c. p. 547.

[2] "Never in any land had learning such an explosive power as upon the Irish. Elsewhere it merely gave limited impulses. Here, no sooner had scholars trained themselves in academic studies than all the old adventurous spirit of the nation revived, and, ignoring minor ambitions, they swarmed off, like bees from a full hive, carrying with them the honey of knowledge and the ability to create other centres that should be celebrated for all time." Sigerson, Irish Literature, *Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1892, p. 513.

[3] Whitley Stokes, Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. Rolls Series, II. 386.

[4] Cf. Huemer, l. c. preface pp. IV–XIII.

[5] Manuscripts in the Anglo-Saxon handwriting were often really copied by Irishmen, from whom chiefly the Anglo-Saxons learned to write. Cf. Wattenbach. Anleitung zur Lateinischen Paläographie, Leipzig, 1886, p. 32. "Auch die gewöhnliche Schrift lernten die Angelsachsen von den Iren, doch hat auch die Halbuncialschrift darauf eingewirkt. und es giebt innerhalb dieser angelsächsischen Schrift bedeutende Varietäten welche bald der irischen

century seems to have reached Switzerland from the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, an indication that it was brought thither by Irish monks. The ninth-century Codex Karoliruhensis belonged originally to the Irish monastery of Reichenau (Augiensis) and the Codex Turicensis belonged, likewise, to the Irish monastery of St. Gall. Is it a mere chance that the oldest and best manuscripts have an Irish habitat, or that some should in all probability have been copied in Ireland, like those of Bobbio, that others should have belonged to the oldest Irish monasteries on the mainland, while still others should be in the writing of the first disciples of the Irish, or wander along the well-known missionary road that led from Ireland by Tours to Switzerland and the upper Rhine? Add to this that during the period of the Carlovingian renaissance we find in the Irish teachers and writers the most copious use of Sedulius. The passages may be seen in Huemer's edition of the poet's works (pp. 361–371). Cruindmel, Hibernicus Exul, and Dungal have a fondness for him that is equalled or surpassed only by the Anglo-Saxons Aldhelm, Bede, Boniface, and Alcuin, or by Godescalc, the intimate friend of the ninth-century Irish school of Liège, and of that other Sedulius, whose life and works have been so well illustrated by Duemmler[1] and Traube (l. c.) Nor would the Irish geographer Dicuil have spoken so securely of the poet as an Irishman in the presence of so many admirers and students of his works, unless it had been the commonly received opinion.

Is it not remarkable that the peculiar Irish rhyme of the Sedulian distich-hymn *Cantemus* should have been imitated in the early middle ages by Irishmen only? The proof of it is in some letters of the Irish colony at Liège, published by Duemmler,[2] in two of which we have the perfect Sedulian refrain.[3] Sedulius Scottus also frequently used this rhyme.

näher stehen, bald sich weiter entfernen und überwiegend einen mehr rundlichen Charakter haben. Oft ist die Herkunft zweifelhaft und auch der name *Scriptura Scotica* umfasst beides."

Camden says somewhere: "Anglo-Saxones ab Hibernis rationem formandi literas accepisse, cum initio eodem plane charactere usi fuerint qui hodie Hibernis est in usu." O'Conor, Rerum Hibernic. Scriptores, I. cxliv.

[1] Mon. Germ., Poetae Carolini, III.

[2] Neues Archiv. f. alt. d. Geschichte XIII. 362.

[3] Sumite Scottigenam devota mente benigni
O vos Francigene, sumite Scottigenam.
* * * * * * *
Omnia Christus habet, per Christum cuncta reguntur.
Mentior haud vobis, Omnia Christus habet.
Cf. Bellesheim, l. c. p. 291.

Sedulius was the first Latin poet who systematically introduced rhyme as an intentional element in the art of word-painting.[1] With him begin to appear the numerous musical sound-echoes or rhymes which the Irish had long before worked into a most intricate system.[2] Ebert says that the most varied rhymes are to be found in the famous Christmas hymn of Sedulius (A Solis Ortus Cardine), and Dr. Sigerson is of opinion that the influence of this hymn, with its interwoven echoes, was great "in educating the ear and popularizing rhyme over Christendom." He is of opinion that "in his great poem (the Carmen Paschale) Sedulius impresses certain marked Irish peculiarities upon the classic hexameter. The influence," he adds, "of this remarkable epic, read as it was in all the Irish schools in the Continent and in Britain, must have been immense. The systematic adoption by its author of rhyme, assonant and consonant, and of alliteration, must have moulded the forms of subsequent literary production in all the nascent languages of Europe, North and South, as it taught them the art of alliteration, of assonant and consonant rhymes."[3]

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[1] Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande, Leipzig, 1889. I. 381.

[2] Douglas Hyde. History of Gaelic Literature.

[3] "Of all the literary possessions of the human race the wide world over, nothing now seems to us so constant, so universal, so eternal as rhyme. Now the fact is that rhyme was quite unknown to all the dialects of Europe, with one exception, for some centuries after the Christian era. The Greeks and Romans wrote much poetry but never rhymed it. Their metrical system was elaborate, satisfactory and pleasing, but it did not recognize the concordant chime of syllables. Again, there is no recognition of rhyme, as the term is now understood, in any of the Gothic dialects previous to the ninth century. The alliteration found in 'Beowulf' the first Anglo-Saxon epic, A. D. 750, centuries later than Sedulius, seems a rather crude imitation. Rhyme was introduced into High German a century later, and this was achieved by Otfried, who had acquired the gift in that monastery of St. Gall, to which the illustrious Irishman bequeathed his name, his spirit, and his scholarship. There can be no doubt that all the European races, spread as they now are over the world, are indebted for this great gift, which has quickened, delighted, elevated and ennobled them for ages, to the Celts, and demonstrably to the ancient Irish." *Contemporary Review.* Irish Literature, Oct., 1892, pp. 511-520. Aldhelm, the first of the Anglo-Saxons to write in Latin metre, writes an alliterative euphuistic prose, very "precious" and pedantic. He also composed glees or popular songs, rhymed no doubt, since one of them—a carmen triviale, some vain heathen tale—was still sung in England in the twelfth century, according to William of Malmesbury. Now, Aldhelm was the pupil and the successor of Maelduf, the Irish hermit, who taught a school and set up a small basilica at Malmesbury, before the middle of the seventh century. "Aldhelm is the first Englishman whose literary writings remain to us, and whose classical knowledge was famous" (Stopford Brooke, History of Early English Literature, p. 239). His work on the Praise of Virginity is, curiously enough, written both in Latin verse and prose, like the Gospel paraphrase of Sedulius, whom he frequently copies or imitates. Here is a decided Irish influence at the very root of the literary history of England. Its formative and directive effect can scarcely be too highly rated, since primitive or original impressions are ineffaceable. For other literary influences of monastic Ireland on the contemporary Angles and Saxons, see Brooke, ibid., pp. 254-279.

It is not claimed for the foregoing considerations that they prove Sedulius to have been an Irishman. But, in the absence of any positive knowledge as to the place of his origin, they deserve attention, for they show that at a very early date he was claimed by Irish scholars as one of their nation, that the Irish scribes and their English disciples copied and read his writings with especial pleasure, and that through him certain distinctive traits of Irish literature were grafted upon the Latin. This is certainly enough to show that the tradition of his Irish origin is far older than Trithemius, and goes back to the crepuscular hour of Roman literature, to the eighth and ninth centuries, when the old classic life was yet the normal ideal of existence, and the reminiscences of its literary glories were not yet extinguished. Perhaps, if we ever discover that "complete copy of Gennadius" that Sirmond had in his hands[1] we may hear such final evidence from a contemporary as will remove this problem from the list of the unsolved questions of patrology.[2]

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

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[1] Integrum Gennadii exemplar. Arevalo, Migne, l. c., p. 436.

[2] Besides the editions of Sedulius already referred to by Arevalo and Huemer the curious reader may consult that of Looshorns, Munich, 1879, and of Hurter, Opuscula Patrum selecta, v. XVIII. Among the latest writers on Sedulius are J. Huemer, De Sedulii poetae vita et scriptis commentatio, Vienna, 1878; C. Leimbach, Caelius Sedulius und sein Carmen Paschale, Goslar, 1879; E. Boissier, Le Carmen Paschale et l'Opus Paschale de Sedulius, *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, 1882, pp. 28-36.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT IN SCRIPTURE.

The importance of acquiring a proper notion of Sacred Scripture needs no elaborate demonstration. The theological atmosphere is full of the discussion of this subject. It is, no doubt, the problem of the age. It is the living, burning question of the day. In fact, there never was so much interest manifested in this subject at any other period in the history of the Church, as at the present time. If it ever was right to ignore it in the past, it can now be ignored no longer. This question will never again be confined exclusively to metaphysicians and theologians. It is no longer discussed in obscure tomes and inaccessible folio volumes, bound in hog-skin, fastened with huge bronze clasps, and put away on the top shelves of some great library, where they can do no harm. For, as any one can see for himself, every variety of contemporary literature, scientific reviews, popular magazines, religious weeklies, and even the secular press of the day, are teeming with the discussion of the subject, and ventilating the attitude of the world of thought towards the Bible, especially its Inspiration.

In all the controversies that took place between Catholics and non-Catholics during the last three or four centuries, the divine authority of the Scriptures was admitted by both parties to the controversy as a preamble, as a standard and rule of faith and morals. Scripture was the measure of truth. But it is so no longer. For now the measure must itself be measured, and measured by other standards. The question used to be, "What does Paul say"? "What does the Bible teach"? Now the question is, "Did Paul ever write those words"? "And, even if he did, did Paul know what he was talking about"? Or we are met by this other question, "What is the Bible"? "Is the Bible the word of man"? "Is the Bible the word of God"? "How far is it human"? "How far is it divine"?

We shall see that, in character and authority, the Bible is both human and divine. Reserving the divinity of the Scripture for future discussion, we shall, for the present, confine ourselves to the consideration of the *human element* in it, not so much for its own sake, as for the purpose of having a basis for the further discussion of the more important subject of Inspiration.

A book may be human, (I.) because of its contents, or (II.) because of its author. Now, Scripture is human in both senses.

I. Human Contents of Scripture.

A book of Scripture may be human on account of the nature of the topics which it contains, on account of the subject-matter which it handles, a considerable portion of which may be distinctively human. Perhaps a greater quantity and a greater variety of materials can be found in the Bible than is contained within the same compass in any other book. As to the character of these materials no more erroneous opinion could be entertained than to imagine that it was all directly and supernaturally revealed from Heaven; for, while much of it is confessedly divine, much more of it is quite human in origin and character. This, of course, is to be expected in a book that contains the history of the establishment of a divine economy among men and for men.

Written for the purpose of influencing the conduct of men, the truths of the Bible are often addressed to the understanding and to the will only indirectly, through the imagination. Imagination itself is reached chiefly through the concrete incidents of History and Biography, which are frequently presented very dramatically in the Bible. If religious truths were taught in the Bible, as Dogmas are taught in a treatise on Speculative Theology, or as Morals are taught in a systematic treatise on Ethics, or as Science is taught in a dry-as-dust nineteenth century text-book, where everything is expressed in the most general terms of abstract philosophy, and arranged as artificially as curiosities in a cabinet or in a museum, instead of being scattered about, as they are in the Bible, without any conceivable order, whether logical, chronological,

or ontological, like objects in nature, like flowers in a forest, and mixed up with facts of history, just as they occurred in the experience of real living men and women, they never would have been understood by the bulk of mankind, who have only average intelligence, and never would have exercised one tithe of the influence which they have exercised on the life and conduct of all civilized nations.

It is, therefore, to this human element in Scripture that we are indebted for the peculiar charm of so many beautiful sketches of life and manners among the early Hebrews, in which the facts of history are so happily blended with moral lessons, as in the story of Ruth. To the same element we are indebted for the fact that so many religious truths are easily understood and forever remembered, simply or chiefly because of their association with the names of so many celebrated heroes and heroines of those olden times, as, for instance, the virtue of patience is taught in the history of Job. To the same element we are indebted for the concrete setting which adds so much grace and beauty to the narratives in the life of Christ, and for at least a partial explanation of the marvellous influence exercised in all ages by the parables of Our Lord in the Gospels.

It is also the facts of history and biography which, like nursery tales, appeal so strongly to the imagination especially of the young, and which explain why it is that they will listen with such delight, for instance, to the story of Daniel in the lion's den at Babylon; of the boy Joseph sold by his heartless brothers to the nomads of the desert; of the youthful Samuel responding promptly to the call of God in the dead of night as he lay on his couch in the Temple at Shiloh; or of baby Moses, the future legislator, wailing in his lonely basket-cradle among the bulrushes on the banks of the Nile.

The same is true even of those parts of Scripture, which, at first sight, would seem to be so exclusively historical or scientific as to preclude all idea of religion, as, for instance, the History of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis. For, whatever interpretation we may give to this chapter, apparently historical and geological in character, one thing is certain, there have

have been incorporated into it some of the most fundamental truths of religion. The cosmogony of this opening chapter of Genesis and of the whole Bible is absolutely unique. It stands alone in its glory, incomparably superior to all other Histories of Creation. One remarkable peculiarity of this narrative is that it represents God as standing out in sublimity, majesty, and solitary grandeur above all else, and teaches the most spiritual religion imaginable. Hence, whatever else it may be, this splendid exordium of Genesis is a religious composition. It is a primeval hymn. It is the inspired song of Creation. It contains a rendering of praise to the Creator, expressed in the sublimest language. It contains the most profound theology and must have been placed at the head of the Book, to teach the early Hebrews the most essential truths of natural and of supernatural religion. By implication, it teaches the Existence of God, because it is He who created. It teaches the Eternity of God, because He was before the things were which He created with time. It teaches the Spirituality of God, because He created the first matter. It teaches the Omnipotence of God, because He created all things out of nothing. It teaches the Liberty or Free Will of God, because He inaugurated a new order of things. It teaches the Wisdom of God, because He brought order out of Chaos. It teaches the Infinity of God, because it represents Him as existing beyond all limitations of time and space. In one word, this exordium is a composition so exquisite in its structure, so noble in its simplicity, so wondrous in its sublimity, so sound in its Philosophy, so spiritual in its Theology, and so pure in its conception of God and in its notions of the relations of man to God, and to his fellow men, and to the material universe, that it must have been inspired, not so much for the purpose of teaching the sciences of History or Cosmogony, as for the purpose of inculcating the doctrines of the purest Monotheism on a people surrounded by heathen neighbors and in danger of being influenced by the doctrines and practices of heathenism.

Such, then, being the purpose for which Scripture was written, we may be prepared to find mentioned in it almost every conceivable variety of human thought and action. Ac-

cordingly, we read there of the rise and progress of some of the great nations of antiquity, of the various vicissitudes through which they passed, and of the causes that led to their gradual decline and final downfall. We there learn what were their natural products, their military and other resources, their manners and customs, their greed for territory, their insatiable ambition for conquest, their political intrigues and their debasing superstitions.

In thus casting rapid side glances at the most interesting contemporary events of ancient history, and touching upon topics of a worldly interest to their immediate readers, the sacred writers may presumably have ventured upon many a statement about topics that had little or no direct bearing upon religious matters. At the same time, such facts and such reflections as they offer must have been of intense interest to the early Hebrew readers of these books, as containing fragments of history of a personal, local or national character, which, even at this late date, are admitted to be of importance as throwing much needed light on the else forgotten history of many interesting nations of antiquity.

It is probable that nowhere outside of Shakespeare can be found such an endless variety of human characters as in the Bible. The sacred writers furnish us with life-sized portraits of some of the noblest, as well as some of the basest men that ever lived. But the features of even the best of them are sketched with such fidelity, that sunlight and shadow are forever flitting across the view. Thus, for instance, in the Old Testament, we have a detailed and perfectly impartial account of Abraham's prevarication, as well as of his faith ; of Jacob's occasional deceit, as well as of his piety ; of David's adultery, as well as of his deep devotion ; of Solomon's idolatry, as well as of his wisdom ; and of the matrimonial complications and domestic infelicities occurring in the household of some of the ancient patriarchs, as well as of their constant attachment to the worship of God in the midst of their heathen neighbors. With the same fidelity to truth we are told that Moses occasionally displayed temper, in spite of his proverbial meekness ; that Jeremiah, though gentle, was at times querulous ; and that Jonah, though he prophesied, was sometimes

recalcitrant. In one word, we learn from Scripture that the history of the chosen people was one long series of backslidings, and subsequent repentance and purpose of amendment.

In the New Testament also, we read of Peter's profession of faith in Christ and his subsequent denial; of his dissimulation at Antioch and his subsequent repentance; of the sharp contention between Peter and Paul, and between Paul and Barnabas; of the unbelief of Thomas; of the treachery of Judas; of the enmity of the High Priests; of the envy of the Scribes and Pharisees; and of the cruelty of Herod. Sometimes, too, especially in the Old Testament, the writers of Scripture chronicle scenes of barbarity almost unparalleled in the pages of history, and give instances of the most shocking crimes, and of the most debasing superstitions, practiced not only by the neighboring heathen nations, but also by some members of the chosen people.

As an illustration of how the sacred writers take cognizance of matters of human interest, good, bad, or indifferent, it may suffice to read Isaiah, (III., 15--25) where the Prophet, with a richness of vocabulary worthy of Shakespeare and wonderful for an age when dictionaries were not yet written, describes the wealth of jewelry and the variety of millinery worn in those days by "The haughty daughters of Sion, who made a tinkling with their feet and moved in a set pace. In that day the Lord will take away the ornament of their anklets and the cauls, and the little moons, and the pendant chains, and the bracelets, and the necklaces, and the mufflers, and the bodkins, and the headgears, and the anklechains, and the tablets, and the perfume boxes, and the amulets, and the rings, and the jewels hanging from the forehead, and the changes of apparel, and the mantles, and the shawls, and the crisping pins, and the hand looking-glasses, and the lawns, and the turbans, and the fine veils, etc."

Mention is also made of almost every variety of occupation known in those days; the housewife at the handmill grinding the corn; the taxgatherer at his counting table; the shepherd wandering with his flock over the hillsides of Judea in search of pasture; the husbandman engaged in the culti-

vation of the fields, and caring for the vineyard and olive orchard; the fisherman mending his net, and the buyers and sellers trading in the market place or in the temple. To these topics, which are distinctively human, should be added the mention of things belonging to the physical order, to the material universe. In language often poetical and sometimes truly sublime, the inspired writers describe the regular succession of the seasons, the alternation of day and night, sowing time and the harvest, and the bounty of nature in providing for man and beast. They mention the dry land and the deep sea; the fountains and the rivers; the mountains and the plains; the rainbow and the flood; the bursting of the storm and the gentle rain; the flash of lightning and the peal of thunder; the brilliancy of the morning star and the rich glow of the setting sun; "the lily of the valley and the rose of Sharon"; Mount Carmel and Mount Lebanon in their glory; armies and the ships that go out to sea; the siege and the battle; the pillage of towns and the sack of cities; the lion and the dragon; the beast and the eagle; the "sparrow that sells for a farthing" and the "hen that gathereth her chickens under her wing;" "the birds of the air that sow not neither do they reap" and the "lily of the fields that is clothed in more than Solomonic splendor."

To understand how such human topics and even secular matters can be mentioned in the Word of God it is sufficient to consider that a deed done by man alone is a human deed, because it proceeds from a human source or principle; and that it will forever remain a human deed, because it will remain forever true, that it was done by man alone. "Factum infectum fieri nequit." At the same time it is manifest that the *written record* of such a fact may proceed from a divine source and principle, and consequently may be a divine or Inspired record. It is equally certain that, for a book to be Scripture, it is necessary that the act of writing it should come from God, even though the things therein related to have been said or done should have been said or done originally by man alone, and thus be human in character. We also see that Scripture often relates the words and deeds of non-inspired men and other natural objects, narratively, and without always

making itself responsible for the accuracy of the expression of opinion or for the account of the deeds done. All this, because in Scripture an obvious distinction is to be maintained between what is positively *taught*, and, therefore, to be accepted, and what is merely *talked about* or only mentioned as a topic, so to speak, of conversation and then dropped.

This, too, explains how it is that not only human topics in general may be touched upon in Scripture, but things inhuman and even diabolical in character, including the most shameful crimes, and the most barefaced lies, and the most grovelling superstitions, and the most degrading vices, and the most cruel and disgraceful forms of idolatry, all of which may be mentioned in Scripture, but mentioned only to be condemned and repudiated.

This position is so nearly self-evident that it is difficult to make it plainer than the simple statement. Yet it has been so often forgotten and so strangely overlooked that it may be necessary to call attention to the distinction. The Bible represents men good and bad, and angels white and black, and even Satan himself as speaking and acting, each according to the laws of his own nature. We know that Scripture is inspired as a faithful *record* of these things, but it records them only for what they are worth. It records them as the opinions, the sayings, and the doings of those to whom they are ascribed, and not as the opinions, the sayings, and the doings of God, unless, of course, it is stated or in some way intimated that God approves them, adopts them, or in some way makes them His own.

As samples of such things, more or less good or more or less true, we find numerous detached fragments of literature scattered up and down the Bible, which were manifestly of secular character and of human origin, though subsequently copied out into Scriptures under the influence of Inspiration. As instances, we might mention the poetry of Lamach, the Song of the Well, the words of the Epicureans in the Sapiential Books of the Old Testament, the false reasonings of the Scribes and Pharisees, of Herod and Pilate, and of the mob in the Gospels, the diplomatic correspondence that took place between the Jews and the Lacedemonians, and

between the Jews and the Romans, the proclamation of Nabuchodonosor, the edict of Cyrus, and the mention of the decree of Cæsar Augustus that "all the world should be enrolled." We also find quoted in the Acts of the Apostles a copy of the celebrated letter of Claudius Lysias to the Roman governor Felix, and a report of the deceitful speech of the orator Tertullus, both remarkable for their skill in putting things adroitly, for making the worse appear the better cause, and for their quiet assumption of things which, no doubt, are false.

Especially in the Book of Job we find a prolonged discussion on the problem of the existence of evil in the world and on the deep mystery of God's providential government of man. The discussion takes place between Job, on the one hand, and, on the other, his three friends Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, who had come to console him, and consists principally of three cycles of speeches, six speeches in each cycle. The discourses of the three friends, it is distinctly stated, contain their views of the problem. But it is evident to any attentive reader that Job's friends, in their long speeches, uttered many a foolish and absurd statement, for which neither the Holy Ghost nor the human writer of Scripture would make himself responsible. In fact, toward the end of the book, their sentiments are clearly and expressly condemned, by God Himself whose wrath is kindled against them, for we read: "The Lord said to Eliphaz, the Temanite, 'My wrath is kindled against thee and against thy two friends; for ye have not spoken of Me the thing that is right, as my friend Job hath spoken.'" (Job XLII. 7.) Evidently their opinions were set up, like so many tenpins, for Job to knock down again. Since this is so clear on the very surface of the book, it is difficult to conceive how the foolish utterances of Job's friends have so often been quoted, recited, appealed to, and preached upon in the past by all sorts of sermonizers, as if they contained God's infallible word, in utter disregard of common sense and in spite of the rejection of them in plain language by God Himself.

In all such cases we should carefully distinguish between the historical and the objective truthfulness of such quotations. Quotations are always historically true, if they are true *as*

quotations, or if it is a fact that such persons said such things and under such circumstances, even though their statements, as contained in the quotations, are in themselves false. In other words: It is (historically) true that such things were said, but the things said are not (objectively) true. Whoever merely cites another is responsible for the citation *as* a citation, is responsible merely for its conformity with the original, is responsible for the accuracy with which the words of the one quoted are reproduced. In other words, he is responsible for the *form* but not for the *contents* of the quotation; for, very often, Scripture truthfully records such things as samples of the lies of those who first uttered them.

II. Human Author of Scripture.

Every book of the Bible is human on account of its origin or source; on account of the nature of the act by which the book, so far as it is a written document, was produced; on account of one of the agencies by which the book was composed. The Bible is not exclusively a divine book; it is *also* human. It is the joint product of two agencies, the one human, the other divine. It is the result of the combined operations of two concurrent causes, harmoniously operating and coöperating in the production of the book. The Bible is the result, of which God and man are the concurrent causes. However, we should be careful not to imagine that it is the concurrence of two co-equal causes, but rather of a superior and an inferior. It is an instance of operation on the part of God, and of coöperation on the part of man, the operation and the coöperation going hand in hand and making themselves everywhere felt in the act of producing the books. At the same time the concurrence is of such a nature, that God is the controlling power, the principal cause, while man is the subordinate cause, the instrumental agency, the secondary author, of the books.

Thus a veritable human agency was exercised in the act of producing Scripture; a veritable human effort was put forth and a human influence made itself felt at the very moment of composing the books. Thus, the thoughts expressed in Scripture, whether they refer to Human or to Divine things,

were written with the assistance of a human intellect, and with the consent of a human will, and with the resources of a human memory, and were colored by the creative faculties of the human imaginatian. The thoughts percolated through a human brain; they made a human heart pulsate; they made human nerves vibrate; they made a human mind operate; and they ran off from the fingers of a human hand on to the pages of the inspired book in the very moment of its production. It was also a human hand that held and guided the pen and that wrote the words; and the words, when written, were human words, belonging to some language spoken by men, and are to be interpreted in accordance also with the general principles of rational Hermeneutics. The consequence and the manifest advantage of all this is that, while "the Bible is authoritative because it is the voice of God, it is intelligible because it is written in the language of men."

The Bible is authoritative also as being the word of man. For, surely, Moses and David, Paul and John, considered as mere men, ought to possess as much authority as Herodotus and Xenophon, or as Livy and Tacitus, or as Prescott and Macaulay. As is well known, Inspiration is what Theologians call a "*gratia gratis data*," and, like all such graces, it does not destroy the human authority of the inspired authors. On the contrary, instead of absorbing or paralyzing their mental faculties, it rather, through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, guarantees, preserves, heightens and intensifies all the powers of their soul and gives to their statements the highest possible grade of human authority. Accordingly, the Bible, which they have written, is distinguished from all the other religious books of the world by its objective and distinctively historical character; and, as an historical work, as a mere literary monument, it has challenged and has successfully stood the most thorough investigation and the most searching discussion of its contents. All it asks is that it be examined in conformity with the principles of sound historical criticism and that these principles be impartially applied.

To have a clear idea of this subject, we should remember what is meant by saying that a book is authoritative. A book is said to be authoritative (which means the same as reli-

able, credible, trustworthy), when its contents are of such a character or are so authenticated, as to be entitled to credence, as to deserve acceptance, as to demand the assent of the intellect to its statements, whether of fact or of opinion. The authority of a book depends, therefore, on the reputation for truthfulness of its reputed author. And naturally; for an author is a witness; and a witness, to be reliable, should have the requisite qualities of every competent witness. Now, these requisites are (1) a knowledge of the truth, and (2) a sincere desire to impart such knowledge to others.

However, the knowledge required in a witness is not necessarily erudition or learning, or scientific acquirements, but simply an acquaintance with the facts in the case, if the book is historical, or with the opinions enunciated, if the book is doctrinal or didactic in character. It, therefore, follows that a very ignorant man may be a very good witness, provided he have his eyes and his ears open to what is going on around him; and, as is equally clear, a very learned man may be a very useless witness if he is so lost in contemplation or abstract metaphysical speculation as to be unconscious of lesser, though nearer, realities.

Now, the sacred writers possessed, in an eminent degree, these necessary qualifications. As to the second requisite, it must be evident that they had the purpose of telling the truth; for this purpose is easily discernible on every page of Scripture. We cannot conceive of anything so devoid of reason as to imagine for a moment that, for instance, the four Evangelists did not have the intention of relating facts, just as manifestly as had Tacitus or Xenophon; and that they are not poets as Virgil and Milton. As to the first requisite, it can be proved, and has been often proved, that the writers of the Bible possessed the best possible means of knowing the truth of what they relate, whether it regards historical facts or doctrinal opinions. But, as a detailed and exhaustive discussion of all the data which we possess on this subject would fill whole volumes, we would be obliged to omit it, even if it were in order to give it more than a passing glance.

Since many of the writers of the Bible were contemporary with the events which they relate, and since others were even

eye-witnesses, they must necessarily have been familiar with the facts which they relate. As to the other writers, they could have obtained their information from perfectly reliable sources,—from verbal testimony, from ancient monuments, from public archives, from journals, from private memoranda, from family registers, from national records, from ancient traditions. Sometimes these writers, in order to corroborate what they relate, go so far as to give us their sources of information. Joshua and Samuel expressly quote the "Book of the Just," which seems to have been an ancient anthology or collection of religious or national songs current in those early days. (Josh. X., 13; II. Kings, I., 18.) Frequent reference is also made to the writings of Nathan, Abijaiah, Iddo, Jehu, and especially to the "Book of the Days of the Kings of Judah and Israel," and to the "Book of the Wars of the Lord," none of which are known to have been in existence for thousands of years. Nor should there be any valid objection to this; for it cannot, in the mind of any reflecting person, in any way reflect unfavorably on the reputation of the Bible for reliability, to learn that the materials of which it is in great part composed have been derived, not always by direct revelation from Heaven, but from human sources, provided, of course, those sources can be proved to be in every way trustworthy, or at least, provided it cannot be proved that they are not trustworthy.

When the Bible, for the first time, falls into the hands of an intelligent and educated man, who wishes to proceed correctly in his investigations after the truth, it might be premature for him, at this early stage of his inquiries, to attach too much importance to the claims made for the Bible that it is the Word of God. It would be more in accordance with the rules of logic and historical criticism to show first that the Bible is the word of man and that, as such, it is a reliable source of information. Under these circumstances it would be fair for such a person to inquire whether the Biblical books are credible as historical documents and trustworthy vehicles of information, independently of their divine inspiration; and to determine whether they would be accepted as evidence, even if they were not also the Inspired Word of God. There need be

no hesitation in saying that, if he prosecutes his investigations according to the right methods, he will soon be convinced that, considered merely as human documents, the books of the Scripture are among the best authenticated documents of antiquity and that, after being subjected to the most critical investigation, their credibility has been placed beyond dispute. For the human authority of Scripture may be demonstrated scientifically by means of arguments drawn, not from Scripture itself nor from the tradition of the Church, which is divine and theological, but from sources quite independent of anything supernatural, that is, by mere historical tradition; just as the reliability of all other ancient documents is established. In other words, the human authority of Scripture can be rigorously demonstrated independently of the claims of the Bible to be divinely inspired and independently of the claims of the Church to be the authoritative interpreter of the Bible. It can be proved by arguments exclusively scientific, critical, and historical.

Such a demonstration, since it produces a moral certitude of the highest order, is always useful and is sometimes necessary for the purposes of the higher critic and of the Christian apologist. Such a rigorous demonstration serves a threefold purpose: (1) The first advantage of such a demonstration, from a mere scientific standpoint, is that we could learn from the Bible what were the doctrines of Christ with at least the same degree of certainty as we now learn from the pages of Xenophon and Plato what were the doctrines of Socrates. (2) The second advantage arising from thus establishing the human authority of the Bible is negatively very great, for it removes any antecedent prejudice against the doctrine of the Inspiration of Scripture. The presumption is that any book that is humanly unreliable or historically false cannot be an inspired book. That Scripture is humanly and historically reliable removes any such objection to the doctrine of its inspiration. (3) The third advantage arising from the human authority of Scripture is evident from the following considerations. Ordinary historical evidence is sufficient to satisfy us with regard to the truthfulness of statements found in the works of such writers as Tacitus and Suetonius. We do not

insist upon inspiration in these writers as a condition to their reliableness. So that, even if instances of incorrect judgment, defective reasoning, or hasty generalization were to occur in their works, we would not therefore question their general truthfulness. But historical criticism has placed the books of the Bible on a level with the most reliable human documents. The higher critic requires nothing more. Then may we not believe that the testimony of these books about themselves is as reliable as their testimony about other things? May we not believe them when they assert their own inspiration, and may we not thus draw from them an inference far in advance of their general credibility? May we not quote from Scripture to prove, at least with a human certainty, that Scripture is Inspired?

This idea is nothing new. The dogma of inspiration comes to us through the same channels, as do all the other dogmas of the Church,—through Scripture and Tradition. As to the first, we willingly admit that Scripture does not prove the inspiration of each and every book on the Canon; simply because there are on the Canon some books concerning the inspiration of which it so happens that there is no mention in Scripture. Some Catholic authors have been reluctant to grant thus much, lest they should appear to yield too much to Protestants. This is all wrong. We should not give up a good argument nor cease to use it, simply because our adversaries use it. To prove the inspiration of Scripture we need all the valid arguments that exist. Our Lord and His Apostles testify in Scripture to the inspiration of Scripture. Why may we not use the testimony of Christ? He gave it. If He gave it, He gave it that we should use it. And to use the gift is the best way to thank the giver.

We are clearly entitled to argue on such data as Scripture furnishes to its own Inspiration, provided the demonstration is properly conducted. Neither is there any danger in this matter of falling into a "vicious circle." If we were to begin at the wrong end, and, without proving anything, if we were to assume the Inspiration of Scripture in order to prove the Inspiration of Scripture; or if we were to assume the human authority of Scripture in order to prove the human

authority of Scripture; or if we were to assume the human authority of Scripture in order to prove the divine authority of Scripture; or if we were to assume the divine authority of Scripture in order to prove the human authority of Scripture, we would, indeed, be guilty of the fallacy alleged. But we proceed in an entirely different way. We take nothing for granted. We assume nothing. We prove everything. By means of rigorous historico-critical arguments, in no way based either on Scripture or on the divine tradition of the Church, we prove that Scripture is humanly reliable. We then quote this admittedly reliable Scripture in order to prove that the same Scripture is inspired. Having demonstrated its reliability, there is no reason why we may not rightly infer that its statements about itself are as reliable as its statements about other things. This, then, is no "vicious circle," but a movement forward on a straight line of logical, progressive development.

However, such a demonstration of the divine authority of Scripture is, from the very nature of the case, subject to several limitations. It is not applicable to all the books of Scripture. It is not adapted to the needs of all classes of persons. It is for scholars; for it recommends itself to the intelligence of those only who are capable of appreciating long-drawn-out critical arguments. It does not preclude all controversy. And, finally, carried no further than we have indicated, it does not enable us to elicit an Act of Divine Faith. For such an act we need the authoritative voice and decision of the Church.

CHARLES P. GRANNAN.

THE GEOMETRY OF FLUIDS IN MOTION.

Problem.

"The direction of the flow of a fluid having been determined at a certain number of points by experiment, to determine geometrically the lines of flow of the fluid."

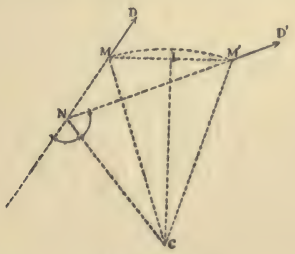
I° Lines of Flow in the Plane.

Definition: A lineal element is the aggregate of a point M, and a direction D through that point. In the plane a lineal element is equivalent to a rigid body, since it takes one point and a direction through the point to locate a rigid body in a plane.

Theorem I: Being given two lineal elements (MD) and $(M'D')$, there is always a rotation and only one by means of which one of the elements can be brought in coincidence with the other.

This theorem, which is the well known fundamental theorem of the geometry of motion of a rigid body in the plane, is also the fundamental theorem in the geometry of the lines of flow, for the laws of this geometry are an extension of the laws governing the motion of a rigid body. We shall, therefore, recall here briefly the demonstration of theorem *I:*

Draw IC perpendicular to the middle of MM' (fig. 1); pro-

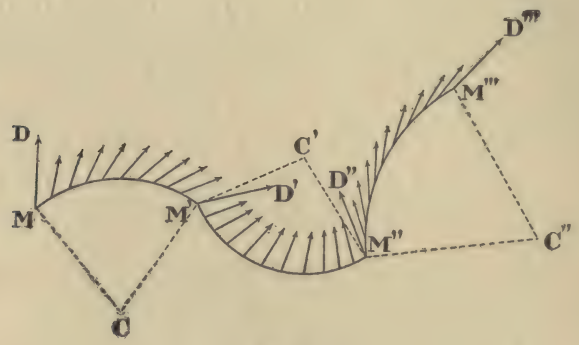


(*Fig.* 1.)

duce the lines D and D' until they meet at N and draw NC bisecting the angle DND' or its supplement (according to the relative directions of D and D' towards the point N). The

lines IC and NC meet at C and if the lineal element (MD) be rotated around C it will come in coincidence with $(M'D')$. During this rotation, the point M describes a circle MM' around C; the angle of rotation MCM' is equal to the angle of D with D'. The point C is called the *center of rotation* relative to the two lineal elements (MD) and $(M'D')$.

Preliminary problem: A series of lineal elements (MD), $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, being given, let it be required to determine a motion of the element (MD) such that this element will pass through all the given positions (MD), $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, etc., (fig. 2). Having constructed the center of rotation C relative



(*Fig.* 2.)

to the elements (MD) and $(M'D')$, the center of rotation C' relative to the elements $(M'D')$ and $(M''D'')$, the center of rotation C'' relative to the elements $(M''D'')$ and $(M'''D''')$, etc., we can produce the required motion by means of a succession of rotations around each corresponding center. This gives a continuous series of lineal elements, among which all the given elements are to be found.

Definition: If lineal elements be distributed throughout the plane, so that there be a lineal element at each point of the plane, all these elements are said to form a *system of lineal elements.*

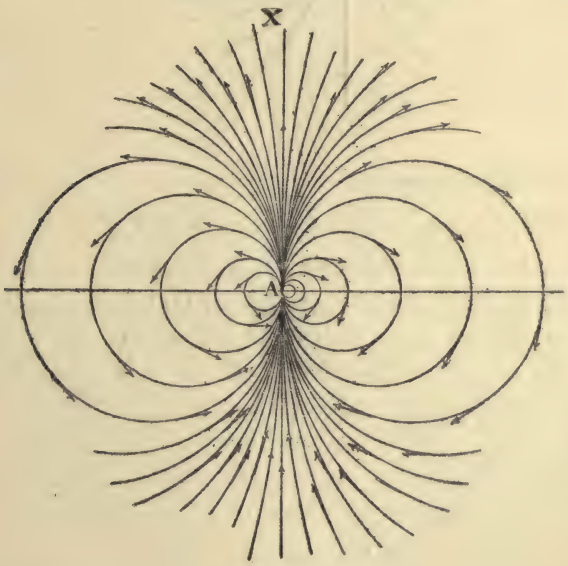
General problem: Suppose now that a certain number of lineal elements (MD), $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, etc., be given, scattered over the plane, and let it be required to determine a continuous system of lineal elements covering the whole plane and such

that all the given elements shall be found among those of the system. This problem, which is the special problem we have in view, is evidently of the same character as the preceding one, but more general and complex. It is necessary, therefore, to proceed step by step, as follows:

Theorem II: Any family or system of curves covering the whole plane defines a continuous system of lineal elements, and conversely.

Through any point M of the plane passes a curve of the system, and the tangent D to this curve at this point determines with M a lineal element.

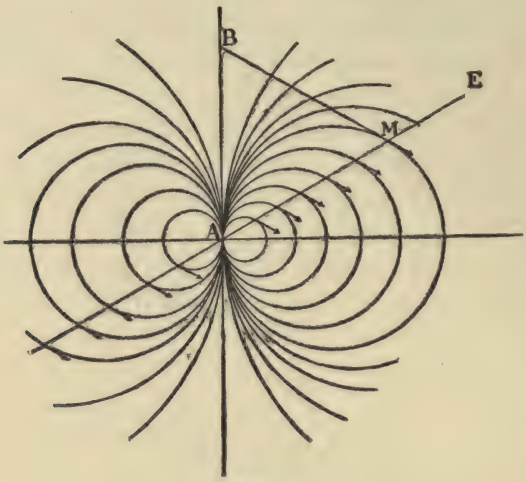
Definition: Being given a line AX and a point A on this line, there is an infinite number of circles tangent to the line AX at the point A (fig. 3). This system of circles covers the



(*Fig.* 3.)

whole plane and shall be called a *circular system;* the point A is the *center* and the line AX the *axis* of the system. A circular system is completely determined when its center and axis are known. At the center of a circular system the lineal element can take any direction whatever.

Theorem III: If a straight line AE be drawn through the center A of a circular system (fig. 4), the lineal elements corresponding to the different points of this line are parallel to each other.



(*Fig.* 4.)

For it is evident that:

angle DME = angle BMA = angle BAM = constant.

Problem III: To determine a circular system, being given its center A and one lineal element (MD) of the system.

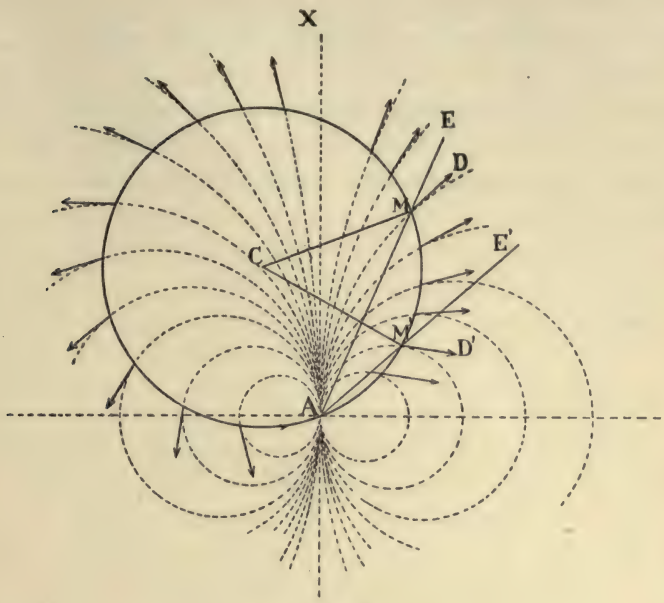
Join A to M and draw a line AX making (in the opposite direction) the same angle with AM as AM does with MD. This line AX will be the axis of the circular system.

Theorem IV: If any circle be drawn passing through the center A of a circular system (fig. 5), the lineal elements corresponding to the different points of this circle will cut this circle under the same angle.

Let C be the center of any circle drawn through the point A; M and M' two points of this circle and (MD), ($M'D'$) the corresponding lineal elements. According to the preceding theorem:

angle DME = angle XAM
angle $D'M'E'$ = angle XAM'

Hence the angle of D with D' equals twice the angle MAM';



(*Fig.* 5.)

but angle MCM' is also equal to twice the inscribed angle MAM'. It follows:

$$\text{angle } (D,D') = \text{angle } MCM'.$$

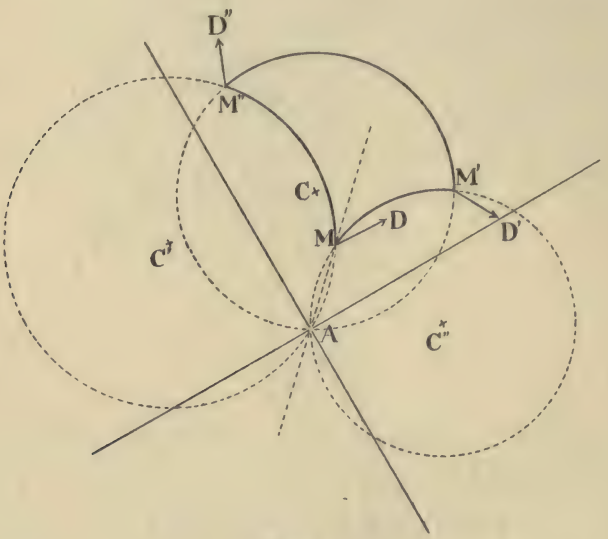
The point C is, therefore, the center of rotation relative to the lineal elements (MD) and $(M'D')$, and this holds true for all positions of M' on the circle MM'. If, then, the lineal element MD be rotated around C, we shall obtain a continuous series of elements, all of which belong to the circular system, and this is true of any circle passing through the center A.

Theorem V: Conversely, if (MD) and $(M'D')$ be any two lineal elements of a circular system, the whole rotation determined by these elements belongs to the system, i e.: if (MD) be rotated around the center of rotation relative to (MD) and $(M'D')$, all the positions occupied by (MD) during this rotation belong to the circular system.

This is a result of the preceding theorem, because there is only one center of rotation C relative to two given elements. We may add that the rotation determined by any two ele-

ments of a circular system is such that the circle described by M during this rotation always passes through the center A to the system.

Theorem VI: Being given the three lineal elements (MD), $(M'D')$, and $(M''D'')$ anywhere in the plane, there is a circular system, and only one, passing through these three elements (fig. 6).



(*Fig.* 6.)

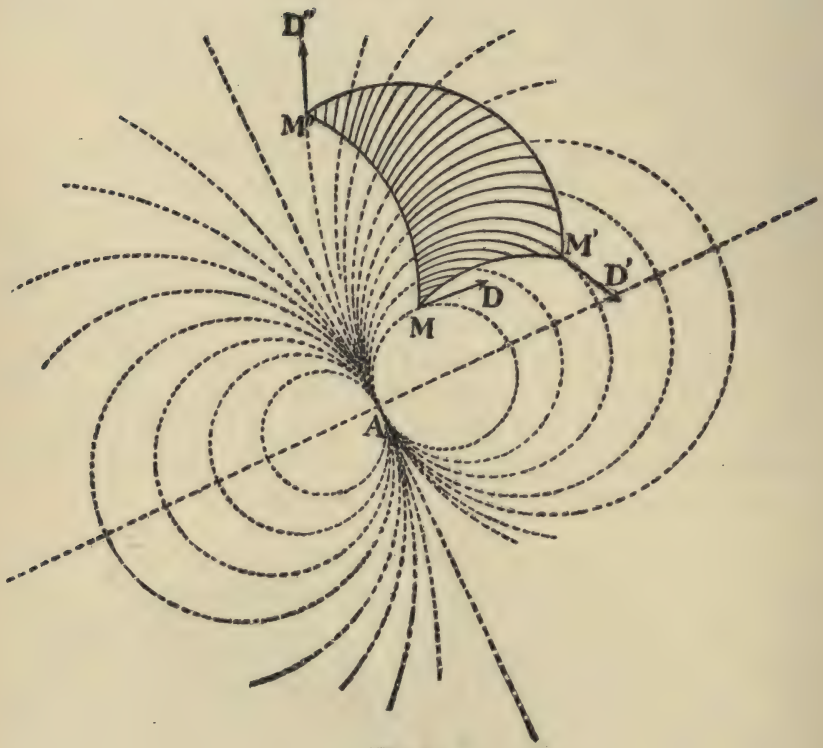
Let C'' be the center of rotation relative to the elements (MD) and $(M'D')$, and let C' be the center relative to (MD) and $(M''D'')$. When the element (MD) is rotated around C'', the point M describes the circle MM' and when this element is rotated around C', the point M describes the circle MM''. These two circles intersect at M, so that they have always another point of intersection A and only one. It is evident that the circular system determined by the center A and the lineal element (MD) shall also contain the elements $(M'D')$ and $(M''D'')$; for, suppose (MD) to be rotated around C'', its consecutive positions (among which there will be $(M'D')$ belong to the circular system, since the circle MM' passes through the center A of the system. The same is true of $(M''D'')$, which proves the theorem.

Having thus determined the center A of the circular system passing through three given elements, the axis of the system will be located as in Problem III, by joining A to M and drawing a line AX, making the same angle with AM as AM does with MD.

This theorem is the extension of Theorem I, i. e.: in the same way as there is but one rotation between two given lineal elements, there is but one circular system between three given lineal elements, and we see that the center A of this system plays with respect to the three elements the same part as the center of rotation C with respect to the two elements.

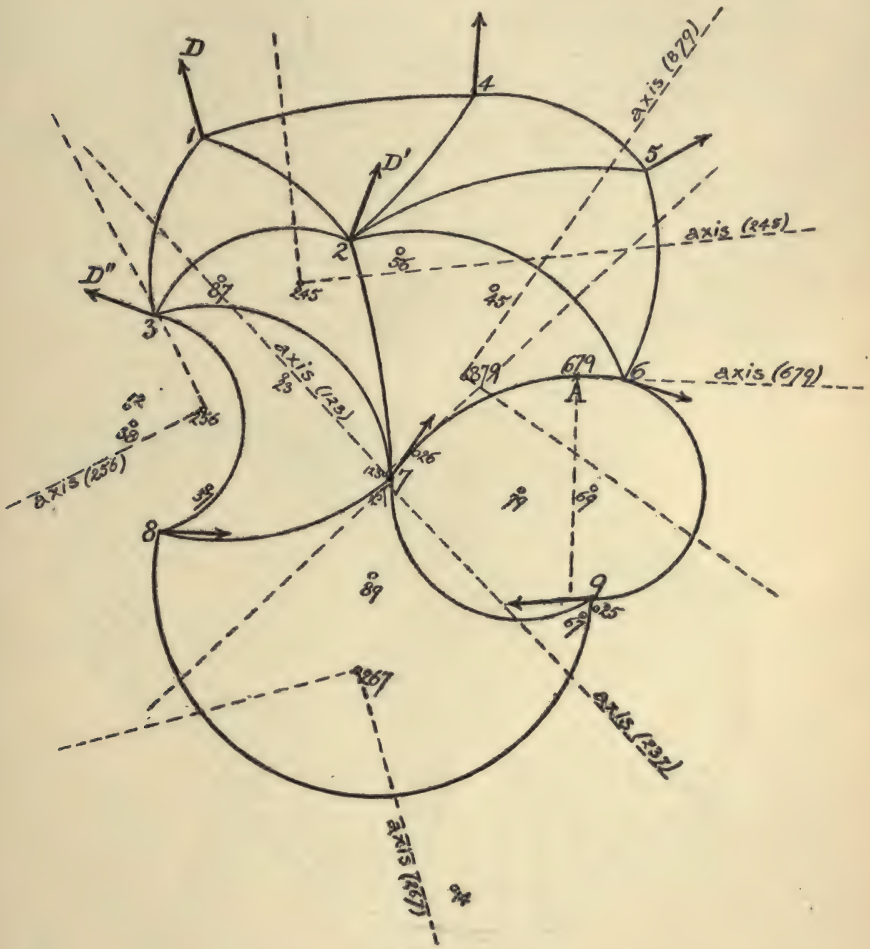
Remark: There are three centers of rotation, C, C', C'', determined by the elements (MD), $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, and we have used only two of them, but had we used the third one, the result would have been the same, because the circle $M'M''$ drawn around the third center C passes also through the same point A, (according to theorem V). This remark leads to a simple construction for finding the resultant of any two rotations in the plane, as the rotation $M'CM''$ is the resultant of the rotations $M'C''M$ and $MC'M''$. We can also say that the resultant of two rotations belongs to the circular system determined by these two component rotations.

Definition: Having constructed the center A and the axis AX of the circular system passing through three given elements (MD), $(M'D')$, $(M''D'')$, we can trace all the circles of this system, and by doing this we get a system of curves or lines of flow, which covers the whole plane and which is such that at the given points M, M' and M'' the flow has precisely the given directions D, D' and D'' (fig. 7). Instead of covering the whole plane with this system of circles, suppose that we trace only those circles or arcs of circle, which fall inside the curvilinear triangle formed by the arcs MM', $M'M''$ and $M''M$ (as shown in full lines in fig. 7.), we shall call this triangular portion of the circular system: the *circular flow* between the three elements (MD), $(M'D')$ and $(M''D'')$.



(*Fig.* 7.)

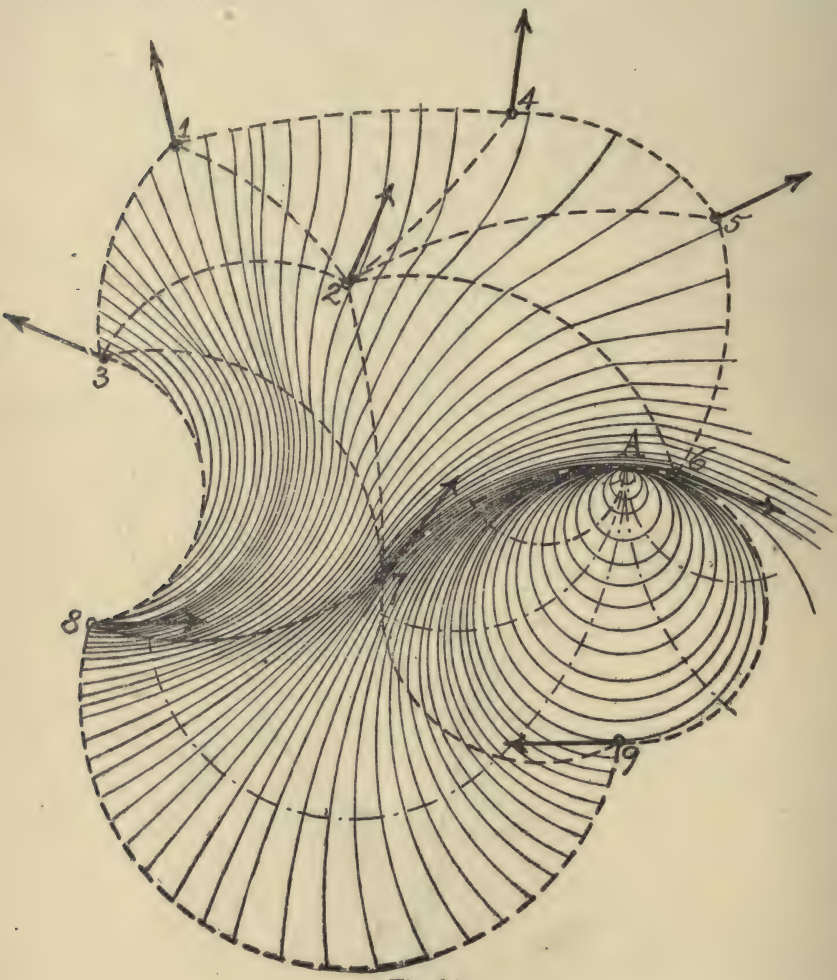
Solution of the general problem: Let 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., be any number of points in the plane (fig. 8) and let D, D', D'', etc., be respectively the direction of the flow of any fluid at these points (as given by observation), to determine the flow of this fluid



(*Fig.* 8.)

we begin with three of the given points, such as 1, 2 and 3 and determine the circular flow between these three points (fig. 9); this circular flow will fill a certain curvilinear triangle. Then we take points 1, 2 and 4 and determine the circular flow between these points; the curvilinear triangle which is filled by this flow has one side 1, 2, in common with the preceding

triangle, because the rotation 1, 2, is common to both.[1] By repeating the same operation with other points, we subdivide the plane into curvilinear triangles, which fit each other ex-



(*Fig.* 9.)

actly, and each one of these triangles is filled with a circular flow. We shall now prove that all these circular flows put together form a *continuous flow*.

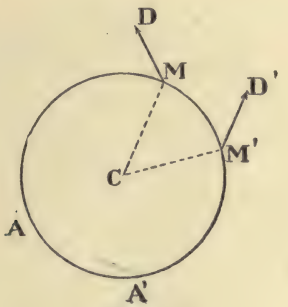
[1] In fig. 8 the following notations have been used: 1, 2, 3, 4, etc, denote the given points 12 denotes the center of rotation relative to the elements 1 and 2, etc.; the center of the circular system determined by the elements 2, 4 and 5, for instance would be marked 245, etc.

This is proved by :

Theorem VII: The intersection of any two circular systems is a rotation passing through the center of each system.

By *intersection* of two systems we mean the lineal elements common to the two systems. It is evident that two systems have certain elements in common, for each circle of the first system is tangent to a certain circle of the second system ; if M be the point of contact and D the common tangent, the lineal element (MD) belongs to both systems.

Let A and A' be the centers of two given circular systems (fig. 10), and (MD) a lineal element common to the two systems : draw the circle $AA'M$; if the element (MD) be rotated around the center C of this circle, all its positions will be common to the two systems, because in this rotation the point M describes a circle passing through the center of each system (see Theorem IV.)



(*Fig.* 10.)

Corollary: If (MD) and $(M'D')$ are lineal elements common to two circular systems (fig. 10) the intersection of the two systems will be the rotation determined by these two elements, and in this rotation the point M will pass through the center of each system.

Hence, if we go back to fig. 8 and consider two consecutive curvilinear triangles such as 1, 2, 3 and 1, 2, 4, the lineal elements at the points *1* and *2* being common to both triangles, the rotation 1, 2, determined by these elements will be precisely the intersection of the circular system 1, 2, 3 with the circular system 1, 2, 4, so that all along the arc 1, 2, the circles of the first system will be respectively tangent to the cir-

cles of the second system, i. e: the circular flow in the triangle 1, 2, 3 and the circular flow in the adjacent triangle 1, 2, 4, will form a continous flow.

This being true of any two adjacent triangles, the circular flows, which fill the different triangles, will form a continuous flow covering the plane, and such that at the given points 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., the direction of the flow shall be the same as given by observation. Each line of flow is composed of several arcs of circle forming a continuous curve (fig 9).

Remarks: It may happen that the center *A* of a circular flow falls between two vertices of the corresponding triangle; such is the case for the triangle *6*, *7*, *9* in fig. 8. In this case a *vortex* is formed in the fluid, as shown in fig. 9, at the point *A*.

Fig. 11 shows more in detail the perturbation produced in a fluid in motion by the presence of a vortex.

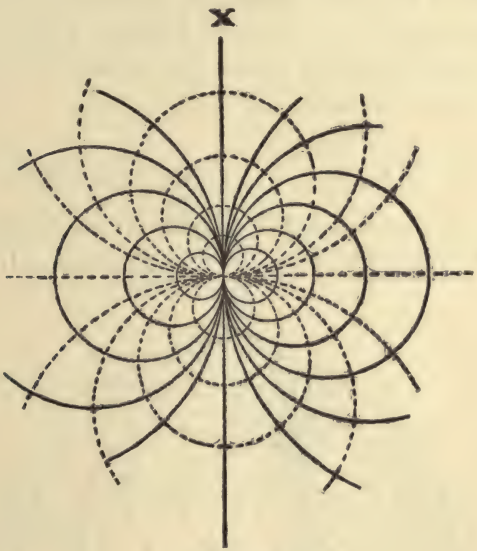
(*Fig.* 11.)

If the fluid be the atmospheric air, i. e: if the given lineal elements 1, 2, 3, etc., represent the direction of the wind observed at the same time in different places, the lines of flow

will determine the flow of the wind over the whole country, and if a vortex appears at a certain point A of the map, it means that this point is the center of a cyclonic disturbance of the atmosphere.

If the fluid be the magnetic fluid, i. e: if the given lineal elements 1, 2, 3, etc., represent the direction of the magnetic needle at these points, the lines of flow will be the lines of force of the magnetic field, and the appearance of a vortex detects the presence of a magnet in the field. It is worth while to remark, that the magnetic field produced by a single magnet is precisely a circular system, provided the length of the magnet be negligeable in comparison with the size of the field.

Theorem VIII: If a circular system be rotated of a right angle around its center A (fig. 12), the new system obtained is



(*Fig.* 12.)

orthogonal to the first, i. e., each circle of the first system intersects each circle of the second system at right angle.

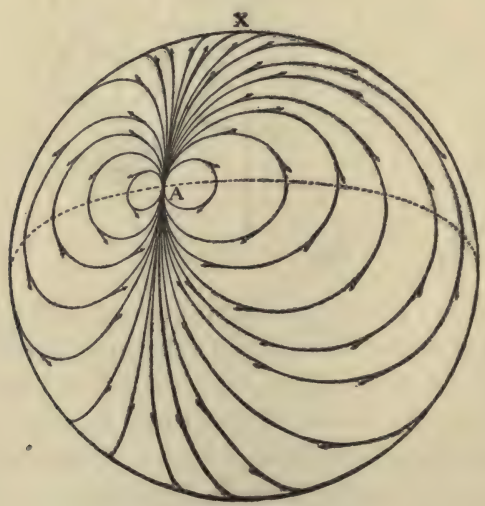
Hence, if the first system represents the lines of flow of a fluid in motion, the second system will represent the equipotential lines of the same fluid. Since the circular flow, filling any one of the triangles of fig. 8, is determined by means of a circular system, we can obtain at the same time the equipo-

tential lines inside of each triangle by turning the corresponding circular system of a right angle around its center, and keeping only that portion of this new circular system which falls inside the triangle. The equipotential lines thus determined in all the triangles will form also a continuous system, since the lines of flow are continuous. Some of the equipotential lines are shown in dotted in fig. 9.

In conclusion, we can say that the same method can be utilized for tracing the contour lines and the lines of greatest slope of a topographical map ; but in this case it is necessary to determine first the direction of the tangent to the contour lines in a sufficient number of points ; this being done, the problem is the same as the one of the flow of a fluid ; but care must be taken to draw all the tangents in the direction of the supposed flow. We can, however, suppose the flow to be running either one way or the other, for the lines of flow remain the same if the direction of all the given lineal elements be reversed at the same time.

II° Lines of Flow on the Sphere.

The geometry of the lines of flow on the surface of a sphere is exactly the same as in the plane, because all the theorems



(*Fig.* 13.)

of plane geometry involved in this theory can be extended to the sphere. The same method can then be used to determine the magnetic field on the surface of the earth, knowing the direction of the magnetic needle in a sufficient number of points. (It is evident that the correctness of the results is proportional to the number of observations.) Fig. 13 shows a circular system on the surface of a sphere.

The preceding theory shows that the most general motion of a fluid in a plane is the motion defined by a circular system. In order to determine the most general motion of a fluid in space we must extend the theory to lines of flow in space.

RENÉ DE SAUSSURE.

THE HISTORICAL METHOD AND THE DOCUMENTS OF THE HEXATEUCH.[1]

Among the various questions, critical and literary, raised by a careful study of the Divine Library of the Old Testament, certainly the chief in extent, intricacy and importance is that concerning the composition of the Pentateuch and its continuation and conclusion, the Book of Joshua. For now well-nigh a century and a half, critical investigation has not ceased; and if system has succeeded to system, in at first sight barren confusion; if, as a matter of fact, much has successively seemed for a while to be achieved which later on has again been called in question and been replaced by something else: yet, often hidden by much crudeness and impatience, sometimes by frivolity or rationalism, true method was being gradually learned and certain large results were being attained, a method and results which no futile ingenuity can escape. I should like to try and show how this is, and why.

In the present paper, I propose to limit myself to the main point which has been brought home to me, gradually, in part reluctantly, by over six years' close study of the Hebrew Hexateuch only just concluded, during which time Genesis has been gone over three times, Exodus twice, and the whole of the remaining books at least once,—the first three books accompanied, word for word, by the close study of commentaries, and by the construction of special vocabularies and notes.[2]

[1] Paper read at the Catholic International Scientific Congress, held at Freiburg, Switzerland, August, 1897. On the question of orthodoxy, see Abbé Loisy's "Les Etudes Bibliques," Amiens, 1894; the articles by Fr. Herbert Lukas and Dr. Robert Clarke, in the *Tablet*, Oct. 9, 16; Nov. 6, 27; Dec. 11, 18, 1897; and Père Lagrange's Freiburg paper, summarized in our last number.

[2] I owe most, in the way of books, to August Dillmann's still indispensable commentaries; but much also to Rudolf Kittell's "Geschichte der Hebraeer" Gotha, 1892; to Dr. Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the O. T.," and his fine commentary on Deuteronomy, 1895; on questions of literary analysis; to parts of Wellhausen's "Composition des Hexateuch's, ed. 1889. I have also gratefully learned, on some points, from Fr. von Hummelauer's "Genesis," 1895, and hope to learn still more from his "Exodus et Leviticus," 1897 and this although the otherwise serious scholarship of his work, and its significant implication or admission of documents, and documents of very different dates, are appreciably marred by the persistent but surely hopeless effort to prove them all of Mosaic or pre-Mosaic, indeed, Patriarchal, even Noachian authorship. Holzinger's "Einleitung in den Hexateuch" Freiburg, 1893, I have found the most complete and critical collection of all the formidable mass of facts and analyses accumulated since Astruc's book (1753) and, indeed, before.

If even now I venture to speak at all, I do so with feelings of some shame; for it would seem not far from an impertinence to speak where I have so little that is substantially new to say. Yet I am not simply compiling or copying from others; I can speak with that kind of authority which the close study of all the original texts alone can give a man: and such speech may have its uses in a subject-matter as yet but little again studied historically amongst Catholics.[1] I want to put before the reader, as vividly as I can, by description and examples, the specific nature and character of historical method and of historical development, this method as the true *form*, this development as the true *matter* of historical investigation.

As a boy I grew up with a keen interest in entomology and geology; they helped develop in me, I think, a double consciousness: of cumulative evidence as an instrument of knowledge, of successive stages of development as a subject-matter of knowledge. For in entomology I learnt, from daily observation, that it was not the *antennae* alone, nor the *elitrae* or wings alone, nor the *thorax* or legs alone, nor the *larvae* or *puppae* alone, nor any of the other peculiarities of the different species, genera and classes of insects which, taken singly, conclusively differentiate each species or group from the other; but that it is the constant recurrence of the colligation of all these special characteristics, which alone convinces us of having reached naturally distinct groups. There are moths very like wasps in some points, there are beetles very like flies in others; yet *Lepidoptera* and *Hymenoptera*, *Coleoptera* and *Diptera* remain safely and securely divided off from each other. The *simultaneous* differentiation of nature is thus tracked and traced by cumulative evidence. And then in geology I got to *successive* differentiation, what had been points becoming lines, and long lines, world succeeding world, each in part dependent upon and conditioning, preparing or fulfilling the other. And here again it was cumulative evidence which alone made me certain; for certain chalk-formations are, in some respects, very like some eocene beds, and some eocene formations are, in part, closely similar to oolithic ones. It is only the colli-

[1] I shall have occasion to remind the reader that it was Catholics who, by universal consent, founded this branch of learning, and that Catholics are again resuming their proper share in these noble studies, studies which require the Church and which the Church requires.

gation of certain mineral characteristics with others of such and such relation to underlying and overlying beds, and with the special character of the fossils, the flora and fauna, found imbedded,—it is only such colligation that effects demonstration.

Now, many and capital are the differences which separate the natural sciences from historical study, nature from man; the oblivion or obliteration of these differences is probably the prime error of our times; yet the two characters just now traced in the former sciences recur again in the latter study. For neither here do we ever by this or that peculiarity, taken singly, attain to conviction concerning difference of character or origin in either concomitant or successive literary and historical variation, but only by the observation and registration of colligated variation of characteristics. And besides this similarity of method we have also a similarity of subject-matter, since here again we investigate a real history, a gradual expansion and a growth. This cumulative character of the evidence, this developmental character of the subject-matter are the foundations and pivots to which all the particular proofs and arguments point, and on which they rest and turn.

Hence I will try and illustrate these two points, and these two only, from the evidence adducible for the existence and general delimitation of the four great documents of the Hexateuch: the Jehovist or Jahvist (J), the Elohist or Ephraemite (E), the Deuteronomist (D), the Priestly Code (P). The cumulative character of the evidence will be illustrated from the narrative portions; this first question is *literary*. The development in the subject-matter will be proved from the legislative parts; this second question is *historical*. But first I would point out that, at least the first of these questions as to the existence and delimitation of these documents is not identical with that as to their absolute, or even as to their relative age and proper succession. Even if those critics are wrong who find a great difference in age between JE and D, and between D and P; whether J comes before E, or E before J; even if P came before D: the four documents would continue to prove distinct. The recognition that Fénelon is contemporary with Bossuet leaves the writings of Fénelon distinct from those of Bossuet. The question again is different

from that as to how far the divergences of historical, chronological, geographical, moral, theological view which lie on the surface of the several documents are real or only apparent. As Fr. Robert Clarke has pertinently said, in his most competent articles in the London *Tablet*, of February-March, 1894, "even if these apparent differences are not real contradictions, it does not in the least follow that the same author could possibly have written both, because a writer avoids not only contradictions, but also what resembles or suggests them, and subjoins an explanation when he asserts two things which seem incompatible."[1] "The Imitation of Christ" of Thomas à Kempis and the "Spiritual Exercises" of St. Ignatius of Loyola have often been compared and even harmonized as representing the same doctrine, but this does not prevent their accumulated differences of point of view, of tone and vocabulary from excluding all serious idea of unity of authorship. And finally, and above all, the question is distinct from that as to the amount to which each document is or may be based upon authentic tradition or even upon previous documents. Thus Prof. Fritz Hommel, in his recent book directed against the Kuenen-Wellhausen reconstruction of Old Testament history, is not inconsistent if he refuses to follow the American Prof. Green and the English Prof. Sayce in their denial of the composite authorship of the Hexateuch. He acknowledges the existence of the four great documents J, E, D, P, and says: "The negation of different sources would but be a radical cure which, in view of the researches of the whole of this century in the field of the Old Testament would go distinctly too far, and would but cut the knot instead of untying it. Even Klostermann is free from all idea of proclaiming the non-existence of the separate sources."[2] The four rivers of Paradise might be found to carry down with them much gold and silver, electrum and amber: but this would leave the Pison and the Gihon, the Hiddekel and the Euphrates as truly four distinct streams as if they carried down but dust and ashes, mud and sand. And now

[1] March 31, p. 497.

[2] This very learned book contrasts painfully, in its rare lack of method and conclusiveness, with Eduard Meyer's "Entstehung des Judenthums," Halle, 1896, which criticises, in an admirable close-knit manner, Koster's (Wellhausen's) attitude towards the books of Ezrah, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

before taking single instances, it will be well first to try and gain a fairly vivid general idea of the actual extent and character of the evidence at our disposal.

The Hexateuch consists of 211 chapters; it is from three to four times the length of the "Imitation." These chapters, if we take the very careful German translation of the Old Testament, edited by Kautzsch as our standard, are distributed amongst the documents as follows: Matter equivalent to 79 chapters belongs to JE (this includes 6 chapters of very ancient poetry); equivalent to 38 chapters belongs to D; to 89 chapters, to P; and to 5, belongs to the Redactor or is of uncertain origin. Hence over one-third of the whole belongs to JE; one-fifth to D; and about three-sevenths to P. It is true that most of the passages attributed to J or E, or to JE, (this latter sign marks the numerous cases in which critics have not yet got beyond the conviction of an amalgam formed by these two closely similar documents), also, many of those attributed to P, are short and mixed up with other documents; but all four documents are represented by pure and unbroken pieces of considerable extent. So for J, there are the three chapters (Gen., II-IV), with the history of the Fall; the two (Gen., XVIII, XIX) with Jahweh's apparition to Abraham at Hebron and the destruction of Sodom; the chapter (Gen. XXIV) with the wooing of Rebecca for Isaac; and that Gen. XXXVIII) with the story of Judah and Thamar. For E, there is the account of Abraham at Gerar, and of Sarah being taken and returned by Abimelech (c. XX); of the expulsion of Hagar and the sacrifice of Isaac (c. XXI, 8–XXII, 13); and of the youth of Moses (Exod. II, 1–22). For JE, we have Jacob's theft of his brother's birthright (Gen., XXVII, 1–45); Jacob with Laban, his flight and wrestling with the Angel, his reconciliation with Esau (cc. XXIX-XXXIII); the story of Joseph (cc. XXXVII, XXXIX–XLV); Moses striking the rock; his victory over the Amalekites, visit to Jethro and institution of Judges (Exod., XVII–XVIII); the golden calf, erection of the Tabernacle, Moses' intercession for the people (cc. XXXII–

[1] "Die heil. Schrift des Alten Testaments," Freiburg i. Breisgau, Mohr, 2nd ed., 1896. As in this paper I have the Hebrew original continually in mind, I quote the Biblical books according to their Hebrew Bible nomenclature, and give the proper names in their [approximately] Hebrew form.

XXXIII); the start from Sinai, election of the seventy elders, the quails, Miriam's leprosy (Numbers, X, 33–XII); Balaam (XXI–XXIV); the taking of Jericho and Achan's theft (Josh. VI–VII). All these J and E and JE passages are narrative. As to legislative parts, there is the legislation in Exodus, cc. XXI–XXIII, 13, the 'Book of the Covenant' (XXIV, 4, 8), which corresponds to the style and point of view of E; and there is Exodus, XXXIV, 11–26, the 'Title Book of the Covenant,' which gives us a closely similar code, in the style of J.

For D we have five chapters (Deut., I–III, VIII,–IX) of historical retrospect in a paraenetic setting; and for laws, we have the great unbroken paraenesis of Deuteronomy, cc. XII.–XXVI.

For P we have, as to narratives, the Hexaemeron (Gen., c. I); the genealogies from Adam to Noah (c. V); the institution of Circumcision and the promise of the birth of Isaac (c. XVII); Sarah's death and burial (c. XXIII); God's revelation of the name of Jahweh, the descendants of Moses and Aaron, Aaron's staff and the serpents (Exod., VI, 2; VII, 13); the institution of the Passover (XII, 3–20); the manufacture and erection of the Tabernacle and its furniture (cc. XXXV–XL); the first numbering of fighting men (Numb. I, 1–47); the gifts and sacrifices of the princes of the tribes (c. VII). And, as to legislation, we have such long pieces as Leviticus, cc. I–VII, on the regulation of the sacrifices; cc. XII–XV, on the laws of cleanness; c. XVI, on the Day of Atonement; cc. XXI–XXIII, rules for the priests; Numbers, c. II, order of the camp; cc. III IV, rules for the Levites.

Now, it is from the study of the vocabulary, style, geography, chronology, historiography, ethics and theology of these long, unbroken passages, and after their final attribution,[1] that we can proceed to the analysis of the mixed chapters. Nor does the fact that this latter analysis has often to remain doubtful, throw doubt upon the attribution of the long, unmixed passages or even upon the conclusion that these dis-

[1] The literary and other peculiarities of the four documents are carefully registered and sifted by Holzinger, l. c.: J [with its 42 entirely special words] on pp. 72–138; E [with 37 words] on pp. 181–212; D [with 84 special words and combinations] on pp. 282–325; and P [with 124 entirely special words for its three layers] on pp. 334–425. About 200 words and phrases are common to D and Jeremiah [his vocation, B. C. 628]; and the oldest layer of P, the Law of Holiness, Ph, is closely similar to Ezehiel [called B. C. 593].

puted passages *are* mixed. We may remain doubtful as to what islands belong to the Tahitian group and to France, and be none the less certain that ancient Gaul is France.

Nor can it be argued that perhaps, after all, the difference of style and of point of view between these various sets of passages are explicable from a change of subject, and not of author. For here the practically undeniable numerous doublets and triplets, both of narrative and of leglislation, come in most powerfully ; in these cases there is identity of subject, but the same sustained diversity of style and of point of view, as when the subject itself is different. Thus, as to narrative passages, the following events are told twice : God's covenant with Abraham, by JE, in Gen. c. XV, by P, in c. XVII ; the adventures of Sarah, by J, in c. XII, 6–20, by E, in c. XX, 1–17 ; the expulsion of Hagar, by J, in c. XVI, 4–14, by E, in c. XXI, 8–21 ; God promises Abraham a son, Isaac, by J, XVIII, 1–15, by P, XVII, 1–19 ; the vocation of Moses and God's self-revelation as Jahweh, by JE, Exod., III, 2–14, by P, VI, 2–13 ; Aaron appointed spokesman for Moses, by E ?, IV, 14–16, by P, VI, 30 ; VII, 2 ; the start from Sinai, by P, X, 11–28, by JE, X, 29–32 ; Moses strikes water from the rock at Meriba, by JE, Exod., XVII, 1–7, by ?, Numb., XX, 1–13. And as in this last doublet the origin of the name of Meriba is explained twice, so also that of Beersheba is interpreted twice, and somewhat differently : by E, Gen. XXI, 30, 31, as from "seven" lambs ; by J, as from "oath," Gen. XXVI, 31–33. Bethel too is explained twice: by E, XXVIII, 10–12, 17, 18 ; by P, XXXV, 15. The name of Israel is twice given to Jacob : by J, XXXII, 25–29, by P, XXXV, 9, 10. The name of Isaac is explained three times : by P, XVII, 17, from Abraham's laughing ; by J, XVIII, 12, from Sarah's laughing ; by E, XXI, 6, from the neighbor's laughing.

But it is in the legislative doublets and triplets that we can study not only difference, but often apparent growth. The Decalogue is given twice, by E, in Exod., c. XX, (the Sabbath, in v. 11, is declared holy, because God rested on the seventh day of Creation); by D, in Deut. c. V, (the Sabbath, in v. 15, is declared holy, because God led the Israelites out of Egypt on a Sabbath). The right place of worship is given, by E, in

Exod. XX, 24, as any place where God has, in any special manner, manifested His presence ; by D, Deut., XII, 5, XIV, 23, XVI, 2, it is restricted to one place only, the Tabernacle ; and this is endorsed by P, Lev., XVII, 4. The feast of Mazzoth-Pesach (Passover) is given by J, Exod., XXXIV, 18, and by D, Deut. XVI, 3, as of seven days' duration ; by P, Lev. XXIII, 4–8, Numb., XXVIII, 16–25, as of eight days' duration. The Feast of Tabernacles lasts seven days in D : Deut., XVI, 13 ; eight days in P : Numb., XXIX, 12, 35. The laws given by J, in Exod., XXXIV, 17–26, can all be found again differently worded and grouped by E, in cc. XXI,–XXIII, The Cities of Refuge are defined by D, in Deut., XIX, 1–13 ; and again, with greater detail, by P, in Numb., XXXV, 9–35. And, within P itself, there are doublets and triplets. Some are identical : so with the account of the preparation of the oil for the candlestick ; Exod., XXVII, 20, 21, Lev., XXIV, 1-4 ; and with the law of perpetual morning and evening Holocaust, Exod., XXIX, 38-24, Numb., XXVIII, 3–8. Some have various degrees of elaboration or slightly different details: so with the three genealogies of the Levitical families : Gen. XLVI, 11 (simplest), Numb., III, 17–21 (fuller), Numb., XXVI, 58 (slightly different); so also with the two accounts of the transport of the Tabernacle in the wilderness : Numb., c. III, c. IV. Some finally show a growth or modification of the legislation itself. So as to the years of Levitical service : it is first from 30 to 50 years of age, Numb., IV. 23 ; later from 25 to 50, Numb., VIII, 23-26. So as to the sin-offering for the congregation : it is at first a young ox, Lev., IV, 14 ; later on, a he-goat, Lev., IX, 3. So as to the Altar of Incense : It is absent from the Temple-house in Exod., cc. XXV–XXIX, where the larger furniture is described as consisting of the Ark and Mercy-Seat, the Table of Show-breads, the Candlestick and the Curtain (XXVI, 35); and the great Altar in the open court is described simply as "the altar" (XXVII, 1–8). With this earlier stage corresponds Lev. c. XVI., where, on the great Day of Atonement, there is solemn incensing, but no Altar of Incense (vv. 12, 13.) It is present in Exod., cc. XXX, XXXI, XXXV–XL, where the Altar of Incense is ordered to be made, XXX, 1–10, and where the great altar in the open

court is called "the Altar of Holocaust," XXX, 28, XXX, 19, XXXVIII, 1-8. With this later stage corresponds Lev., c. IV, where, although there is no incensing, the Altar of Incense is repeatedly part and parcel of the function (vv. 7, 18); and where the great altar outside is called throughout "the Altar of Holocaust" (vv. 7, 10, 18, 25, 30, 34). Such and other minor growths point to three stages and layers of P: P^h, the so-called "Law of Holiness" (Lev., XVII-XXVI); P^g, the so-called "Grundschrift" the staple of the Priestly Code; and P^s, the secondary accretions of the latter.[1]

Now it is surely most remarkable that, once we have got our documents J and E, D, E and P with its three layers, that, wherever we can make sure of an unmixed text, there, within the limits of each document, all contradiction or appearance of contradiction is absent. And, let it be noted, we have no vicious circle in our reasoning. For we have arrived at a persuasion as to the existence of these documents, in the first instance, through a large recurrence of differences of vocabulary and style, and not of geographical, chronological, historical, moral, theological view; so that we are free, now we have thus got our documents, to use the harmonies which now shine forth within each document, and the differences which separate each document from its fellows, as giving moral certainty to our analysis. The fact is that the old rationalist objection to the Bible as self-contradictory, is losing, for all those fully acquainted with the real state of things, all plausibility; for each writer in the Bible is found to be perfectly self-consistent, and so again each Redactor.

I will not now dwell upon the great reinforcement which accrues to the thesis of the separate sources from the fact of the striking interdependence between the differences in the narrative sections and the several developments in the legal sections; but will try and work out in detail one instance from each of these classes of cases.

As an example of parallel narratives and of the Jahwist and Priestly documents, I will take the substantive account of the Six Days' Creation, as given by P, Gen. I., 1.; II 4*a*; and the

[1] The peculiarities of P^h, P^g, and P^s are well given and discussed by Holzinger, l. c., pp. 334-419.

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incidental account of Creation, as given by J, Gen. II. 4*b*–25, in his story of the Temptation and Fall.[1]

(1.) As to non-theological vocabulary, we get, in the first account מִין (*genus*) ten times; it occurs sixteen times more in other parts of P, but only there and in D throughout the Hexateuch. And yet is 'Kind' so rarely recurring an idea, as to be naturally wanting throughout the parts attributed to J and E, if these parts were from the same pen as P and D? שָׁרַץ and שֶׁרֶץ, *pullulare* and *pullulus* (I, 20, 21), here twice and once respectively, occur besides in P ten and thirteen times respectively, generally together as here, else only in D; never in J or E. רָמַשׂ and רֶמֶשׂ, *repere* and *reptile*, here three times, (vv. 21, 28, 30) and three times (vv. 24–26) respectively, else thirteen times in P, only once in D, and once in J. כָּבַשׁ *dominare*, (v. 28) four times besides, only in P in the Hexateuch. אָכְלָה, always in the form לְאָכְלָה, *in escam*, here twice (vv. 26, 30) besides twice more, only in P; four times in Ezechiel. תּוֹלְדוֹת *generationes*, (II, 4*a*) occurs twenty-eight more times, only in P in the Hexateuch. Is "generation" so rare an idea as not to furnish a fair contribution to the test of authorship? In the second account, we get טֶרֶם, *nondum* II, 5), twice, in seven other places in J; nowhere in P. הַפַּעַם, *nunc* (II., 23) זֹאת הַפַּעַם, nine times in J only; D has twice בַּפַּעַם.

(2.) As to expressions, P writes חַיַּת הָאָרֶץ, *bestiae terrae*, here *thrice* (I, 24, 25, 30) and twice elsewhere; J writes חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה, *bestiae agri*, here thrice (II, 19, 20) and in three other places; D has this latter once, and P^{h} has it once. P writes עֵשֶׂב, *herba*, simply, here four times (I, 11, 12, 29, 30). J writes עֵשֶׂב הַשָּׂדֶה, *herba agri*, here once (II, 6) and also in III, 18. P has פָּרָה וְרָבָה, *fructificare et multiplicari*, here

[1] Appendix A.

twice (I, 22, 28). Thus, together, ten times more, in P only. P, and P alone, writes זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה *masculus et femina*, here (I, 27) and in fourteen other places; J writes אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ, *vir et uxor sua* (VII, 2). זָכָר *alone*, P has thirty-eight times, D thrice, J only once, for certain.

(3.) As to theological words, P has בָּרָא, *creare*, which stands always without any accusative of matter, and appears wherever something specially great is to be produced, heaven and earth in general (I, 1; II., 3, 4), the sea monsters (I., 21), man, here twice over (I, 27). The word occurs twice again in P, once in D; never, in the sense of creating, in J or E. J has יָצַר, *formare*, always with מִן, *de*, and the matter out of which the object is formed, here thrice (I, 7, 8, 19); only in J throughout the Hexateuch. P calls God אֱלֹהִים, *Deus* only, up to Exod., VI, 2, where God Himself reveals His name of Jahweh; before this, God reveals Himself, six times, to the Patriarchs as El Shaddai (Gen. XVII, and elsewhere); we have thus a successive development of the name and idea of God. J calls God יהוה, Jahweh, *Dominus*, from the first; the addition of Elohim, *Deus*, which occurs in the two chapters of Gen., II and III, and nowhere else, seems explicable only as the Redactor's addition, to make it clear that the Jahweh here is indeed absolutely identical with the Elohim of ch. I; or it may be but a hint for reading aloud, like the present punctuation of Jahweh throughout the Masoretic text.

(4.) As to the method of composition, and the general argument and idea of the two passages, there is a striking difference. Throughout the whole of P runs a remarkably close-knit, thin and straight line of reasoning and interest: the very composition accentuates this. Each of the eight works on the six days is introduced by a *dixitque Deus;* there are *ten* such altogether, since *three* are used with reference to man's creation (vv. 26, 28, 29). Each order is followed, except in the case of man, by an *et factum est ita;* hence there are *seven* such. Then follows a divine action, consequential to or executive of the order (so on the first and second, fourth and fifth

days); or there follows a second order and a second work (so on to the third and sixth days). On the first, second and third days are created the four elements: light, air (firmament), water and land, and on the land the plants, these latter the last upward link of the unmoving creation, and the last of the conditions necessary for moving creatures. We have thus the first *Triemeron* or *Tetraergon*. On the fourth, fifth and sixth days these four elements are furnished forth: on the fourth day, the light with luminaries; on the fifth, the air and water with birds and water-animals; on the sixth, the land with land-animals and man. We have thus the second *Triemeron* or *Tetraergon*. So that the days in each group answer to the corresponding days in the other group; each group beginning with two days of one work each, and finishing with a day of two works,—the two groups making up symmetricaliy a *Hexaemeron* or *Octoergon*. In somewhat varying positions, each of the eight works is followed by an *et vidit Dominus quod esset bonum*, with the exception of the second work, because this dividing of the waters into sub- and supra-firmamental waters is only finished in the third work, the further division of the sub-firmamental watery chaos into land and sea; and of the eighth work, because man's original goodness is still more powerfully expressed by his being declared created in God's image and likeness. But, as the words are added at the end, with regard to the totality of the works, these words too occur *seven* times. The three consequential actions (vv. 5, 8, 10) are followed by an *appellavitque Deus*, which therefore occurs thrice. And thrice occurs a *benedixitque Deus*, addressed to the water-animals and birds, to man, and to the Sabbath-day (vv. 22, 28, II. 1). Only the plants, the sun and moon, and the land-animals get neither named nor blessed. They are not named, because no individual being is thus named by God himself, excepting man alone (v. 2); the plants, and sun and moon are not blessed, because only creatures that have consciousness and are to be directly ruled over by man (v. 28) are thus blessed. The land-animals form the only, at first sight strange, exception to this second rule; the omission of the blessing in their case is probably owing to the assignation to them of food inferior to man's (v. 30). What an astonishingly

schematic framework, with its network of sacred numbers, with its minimum of matter and maximum of form, of tough, triumphant reasoning! How well adapted is the whole, and each part as strictly subservient to the whole, to bring out the great theme of the piece; the goodness, the reasonableness of the world and of life, both the work of the Supreme Reason, and both of them penetrable and intended to be dominated by the human reason, itself made in the likeness of His own! The tone and end are *optimistic:* there is no such thing as evil matter, or even matter untransformable by God or even man, or even simply preëxistent matter; but the all-good God has created all things out of nothing; each thing good and all things very good; and all things for man, creation's crown and governor. Man's relation to the universe is here the main point of interest; the interest is as *extrospective*, as *cosmological*, as in Christian Patristic times it was so largely in the East, say with Origen. And, theologically, God appears preponderatingly *transcendant* and *abstract*; He is pictured as above, outside the matter which He has Himself created: *in principio creavit Deus coelum et terram:* the high heavens above us are mentioned first, and both heaven and earth are expressly said to have been created, as indeed throughout the piece *facere* is clearly identical with *creare.*

The account of J, on the contrary, strikes its theme in the opening words *in die quo Dominus fecit terram et coelum.* For *in die*, בְּיוֹם here has not the literal signification of the various days of the first document,[1] but no doubt simply means *quando*, or rather *cum;* just as in v. 17, בְּיוֹם had best be translated *quando.* And this intentional abstraction from spaces and strict successions of time is characteristic of the document throughout. *Fecit* in this document is not clearly synonymous with *creavit*, for it alternates throughout not with בָּרָא *creavit*, which is absent, but with יָצַר *formavit*, which occurs in each of the formations which are given at all,—formations always from some preëxistent matter, Adam and the animals from loam (vv. 7, 8), and Eve from one of Adam's ribs (v. 19).

[1] See Fr. v. Hummelauer's excellent remarks in favor of this literality, "Genesis" pp. 61,62.

Terram et coelum (this is the proper order of the words, and not, as in P, *coelum et terram*), indicates from the first that the drama of this account turns primarily around this poor earth of ours, from the loam of which we, as other living things are taken,—the dust that we are and unto which we shall return. For the tone and end of the whole is as *pessimistic* as truth permits. The narrative, remarkably easy and flowing, undulating and discursive, touches with awe and shy admiration upon some of the many mysteries of this mysterious world, and interests itself in matters somewhat apart from the theme, such as the origin of the human sexes, of marriage, of clothing in its three stages (II, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25; III, 7, 21). And the story's sequences and selections aim throughout at bringing out the helplessness, the loneliness, the inner conflict, the present sinfulness of man: the very splendors of the garden of the past are dwelt upon chiefly as foils for the shadows of the Fall and Banishment; and however real and deep we may conceive the promise for the future (III, 15), neither splendid past nor deep future do much more than add pathetic poignancy to the consciousness of the mysterious present. The earth is represented as, at first, dry and hard, requiring, for the growth and appearance of the seedlings already within it, but that do not show before man's creation, both rain and man's tillage; just as man, who will be fashioned from it, will require so much help if he is to come to anything himself. And then Jahweh supplies both deficiencies, by causing a fountain (a mist? אֵד, v. 6), to arise from the ground, and next by fashioning the body of the first man from dust of the earth, and breathing a soul into his nostrils.

We miss here all description of the effect of the mist; the writer breaks off in the midst of his sketch of the early stage of the earth in general, to pursue his real theme: the fate of man. For the Lord Himself now plants a garden of delight in the far East for man and for Himself, where, later on, He will walk in the cool of the evening (III, 8); and, in place of the mist without, we have the four-fold river watering the garden within. Here the Lord causes every kind of beautiful and delicious fruit-tree to sprout up for this first man's food;

but still he has not all he requires, the Lord declares that it is not good for man to be alone, and as a step and sort of experiment towards such companionship, Jahweh only now fashions, from loam again, all land animals and all birds of heaven (nothing is said as to their several kinds, nor about the water-animals), and brings them before the first man, to see what he will call them, how they will impress him. By naming them all, the large domestic animals first, the man differentiates them from himself and expresses their insufficiency as companions. And only after this does Jahweh build, out of one of the sleeping man's ribs, the first woman. Throughout this narrative Jahweh appears more *anthropomorphic* and more *immanent*: He moves within the world, our world. And yet it is not this relation, nor man's relation to the outer world, it is man's relation to his own inner experiences that is here the point of interest: this interest is as *introspective*, *psychological*, as, in Patristic times, it was so largely in the West, with Augustine.[1]

I will next take a sample of legislative triplets, in illustration partly of the peculiarities of D, but chiefly of legislative development: Exodus XX, 24–26 (E); XXVII, 1, 2; 6–8 (P); and Deuteronomy XII, 1–14; 17, 18; XXVIII, 42, 43 (D).[2]

Now the first of these passages is taken from the "Book of the Covenant," the first collection of Sinaitic laws given in the Pentateuch; a collection which is complete in itself, and has but this one law concerning the altar. This altar is to be built of earth (probably held together by turf, like the Roman *ara graminea*), or of unhewn stones, and is evidently not portable. It is quite simple, apparently without horns. It is to have no steps leading up to it, from motives of decency, since the sacrificer is, at the time of the registration of this law, wont, then as at other times, to wear but some loose outer garment, but no trousers or drawers. It is *an* altar; *any* altar, מִזְבֵּחַ, not

[1] For the interpretation of the early chapters of Genesis generally, see Dr. Herbert Ryle's very temperate and reverent "Early Narratives of Genesis," London, 1892; Abbé Loisy's admirably pregnant article on the same subject, "Les Etudes Bibliques," Amiens, 1894, pp. 22–40; and for the detailed application of these principles, Père Lagrange's interesting paper: "L'Innocence et le Péché," *Revue Biblique*, July, 1897.

[2] Appendix B. The chief points of the evidence for stages in the Mosaic legislation have been already very clearly presented to Catholics, by the Rev. Dr. van den Biesen, in the *Dublin Review*, October 1892, and January, 1893.

the altar, a *specific* altar, הַמִּזְבֵּחַ; and hence cannot refer, at least exclusively, to the altar of the Tabernacle, even in its primitive form. It is to be erected by any man whatsoever, wheresoever God may have specially manifested His presence; and wheresoever thus erected and sacrificed upon, God will come and bless the sacrificer; of the altar of the Tabernacle, though no doubt successively in different places, this could hardly be said, for He dwelt perennially in the Tabernacle (Exod., XXV, 8; XXIX, 45; XL, 38; II Sam., VII, 6), and hence was always at hand. Again, the choice left as to the materials seems clearly to point to simultaneous plurality. The second passage is taken from the great mass of the Priestly Code's account of the Mosaic legislatiou, which occurs second in the Pentateuch, and stretches, with but a break of three chapters (Exod., XXXII-XXXIV) from Exodus, c. XXV to Numbers, c. X. Here we have *the* altar, הַמִּזְבֵּחַ; and this is to be made hollow, of shittim (cedar) wood. Although probably filled with earth before use, it could not be called an altar of earth, still less of stones, of which it had none. It was to have four horns, one at each corner; these, as the highest *part* of the altar, are its most sacred *parts*: the blood of the sin-offering gets smeared on them (Lev., IV, 7); and the criminal finds sanctuary by seizing them (I Kings, I, 50; II, 28). It was to be covered over with brass, and to be portable. Exposure of the sacrificer is here provided against, not by any provisions as to the approaches to the Altar, but by the sacrificing priests having to wear drawers. The approach is traditionally supposed to have been an incline; it clearly was of such a nature as to give rise to that exposure which was precluded by the very disposition of the other altar. The third passage is taken from Deuteronomy, which, in its chapters XII to XXX, gives us the third group of Mosaic laws occurring in the Pentateuch. In these sixteen verses alone (XII, 1–14; 17, 18) there are four emphatic adjurations and combative commands as to this one point; no multiple altars, no local religious meals; all sacrifices, all such meals are to take place in Jerusalem alone (vv. 4–7; 11, 12; 13, 14; 17, 18).[1] And

[1] In vv. 10, 11 the time when such concentration will begin to be obligatory is defined as subsequent to the Israelites crossing the Jordan, inhabiting Canaan, with rest from their enemies round about, and their having a divinely appointed place, [Capital or Temple]. Well-

this is done in a tone full of geniality as between Israelites, of sympathy with social gatherings and homely religious rejoicings; in a style characteristically flowing and hortatory, which, though continually aiming at that point, is never monotonous or formalist as in P; and with phrases special to D: so (v. 1) *observare ad faciendum*, occurs twenty-three times, in D only; so *Domino Deo vestro* (*tuo*, *nostro*) over three hundred times in D, much rarer elsewhere; so *locum quem elegerit* (בָּחַר), vv. 4, 11, 13, 18, some twenty-four times in D, nowhere else; *comedere*, or *laetari in conspectu Domini*, vv. 7, 12, 18, 5 and ten times in D, and there only.

Now, with the law given in the first passage, and with that alone, corresponds exactly all that is told us, throughout the Hexateuch by J and E, and by the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, up to the time of King Josiah (640–609 B. C.) II Kings, cc. XXII, XXIII, of the actual behaviors of the persons described; indeed Asa, King of Judah (913–873 B. C.) is the first person blamed in Scripture, I Kings, XXV, 14, for not abolishing the heights. J and E both love to dwell upon the erection of altars, at the bidding of God, by the Patriarchs, and upon how these various places became and remained holy, right up to the writer's time; so, before the Flood, with Cain and Abel; so, after it, with Noah (Gen., VIII, 22); so with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who erect altars in consequence of theophanies respectively at Sichem, (XII, 6, 7), Beersheba (XXVI, 23-35), and Bethel (XXVIII, 10–19); so with Moses who, before the Sinaitic period, erects an altar at Raphidim (Exod., XVII, 15) and joins with his father-in-law,

hausen himself points out that this rest, *manucha*, appears, if we compare with this passage II Sam., VII, 11; I Kings, V, 18, to have begun only with the times of David and Solomon, shows how this corresponds exactly with the principle of judgment enunciated by the Deuteronomic Redactor of the Books of Kings in I Kings, III, 2, 'the people sacrificed on the heights, for up to this time" [when Solomon finished the Temple, about 950 B. C.] "there was no dwelling place built to the name of Jahweh," a principle applied by him repeatedly in his estimate of the post-Solomonic Kings of Judah; and declares that such a dating of a new epoch is "in a certain sense legitimate." [Prolegomena', ed. 1886, p. 20.] We certainly get a quite self-consistent philosophy of history, and one not untrue to the facts, as long as we are willing not to insist upon the human instruments of these divinely far-reaching changes having before them, then and for long after, other than the circumstances which at last rendered possible the concentration now so sorely required by the very spirit and fundamental object of the law; and if we do not require them to have been acquainted with that amplification and modification of the law, with its absolute prohibition of plurality of sanctuaries, which appears, with such immediately explosive and drastic effect, in the Book of the Law, found in the Temple three hundred years later [B. C. 623.]

Jethro, in a sacrificial meal (XVIII, 12); so with Balaam who erects thrice seven altars to Jahweh (Numb., XII, 1–5, 14–16, 29, 30). This practice continues throughout the period of the Judges. A theophany leads Gideon to erect an altar to Jahweh in Ophra ; it stands there up to the present day, adds the writer (Judges, VI, 11–24); another document tells of a theophany which orders him to destroy the Baal-altar of his father, and to erect an altar to Jahweh (VI, 25–32); another theophany bids Manoah erect an altar (XIII, 16–23); an angel rebukes the people for not destroying the heathen altars, and they thereupon sacrifice there, at Bochim, to Jahweh (II, 5); they do so twice at Bethel (XX, 26–28 ; XXI, 2–4); and yet the Tabernacle appears, throughout this period, to have been at Silo (I Sam., I, 1–4). This practice continues under Saul, David, and Solomon. For though the Ark is, during Samuel's and Saul's prominence, at Kirjath-Jearim (I Sam., VII, 1, 2), and the tabernacle, probably at Nob, yet Samuel offers a holocaust at Mizpah (VII, 9), and builds himself an altar at Rama, his home (VII, 17), and he meets Saul, for the first time, at the moment when he is about to join a sacrificial meal upon some height (IX, 12–14). On Saul being made King, the people offer sacrifice at Gilgal, in Samuel's presence (XI, 15), and Saul himself, on sacrificing there, is upbraided by Samuel, not for having done so, but only because he had not awaited Samuel's arrival (XIII, 8–14). After his victory over the Philistines, Saul builds an altar to Jahweh at Aijalon (XIV, 31, 35); "then," says the writer, "he first began to build an altar." David goes to Bethlehem to be present at a family sacrifice (XX, 29). The Ark gets removed by King David from Kirjah-Jearim to Jerusalem (II Sam., VI, 1–17). Yet Absalom, several years later, asks and obtains his father's leave to go to Hebron to offer a vow-offering (XV, 7–9). And King Solomon (B. C. 933) "went to Gibeon" (from Jerusalem) to "sacrifice there, for that was the chief height; a thousand holocausts did Solomon offer upon the altar at Gibeon." And this sacrifice was pleasing to God, for it was on this occasion that "Jahweh appeared to Solomon in the night, in a dream" (I Kings, III, 4, 5). The Temple gets built and inaugurated (VI–VIII), yet divinely acceptable sacrifices con-

tinue in various places. Elijah, the greatest of the non-literary prophets (under Ahab, B. C. 876–854), "repairs the altar of Jahweh" on Mount Carmel, on the solemn occasion when he derides and slaughters the priests of Baal (III Kings, XVIII, 30); and, at Horeb, he accuses the people before the Lord in these terms: "I have been very zealous for Jahweh Zebaoth, for the children of Israel have forgotten Thy covenant, destroyed Thine altars, and slain Thy prophets with the sword," (XIX, 14).

The prophets Amos and Osee (about 760–740 B. C.) are the first to raise their voices against the worship on the heights; but it is to be carefully noted how their intense polemic is directed against various immoral abuses connected with these sacrifices, and, generally, against ritual observance of any kind being put before cleanness of heart, but not against multiplicity of altars in itself. Yet their labors, succeeded by those of Micah and Zephaniah, and by the splendid activity of Isaiah; the great public events of the first deportation of Israelites to Assyria (734 B. C.); above all, the fall of Samaria, Jerusalem's formidable rival (722 B. C.), all increasingly prefaced, from within and from without, that complete centralization of worship which is the absorbing subject and polemical object of Deuteronomy, the Book of Law, found, under King Josiah, by the Priest Hilkia in the Temple (623 B. C.).

This brings us to our third passage, for with this exactly corresponds what we read of the King's doings, his wholesale suppression of the still most vigorous heights-worship and his concentration of all sacrifice in Jerusalem after the discovery of the book and his study of it. And his evident amazement and consternation at what was clearly quite new to him fits in well only with D, which itself presents these demands throughout with a fresh polemical point, and not with P, which but assumes throughout this unity as practically realized, or at most, in but one place belonging to P^h (Lev., XVII, 1–17), has a comparatively unemphatic direction as to this point. It is true that, prior to Josiah, it is said of Kings Asa, Joas, Amazia, Asaria, and Jotham of Juda (I, K. XV, 14; II, K, XII, 1–4; XIV, 1–4; XV, 1–4; 32–35) that "the heights indeed re-

mained unabolished;" but all these passages, clearly Deuteronomistic in style though they be, add in each case that the King in question did (otherwise) what was pleasing to the Lord throughout his life. From Josiah (d. 607) to the beginning of the Babylonish Captivity (597, 586 B. C.) we have the period of painful and violent, but most necessary, divinely provident centralization. And the position thus assigned to D as between JE and P is, upon the whole, well borne out by the literary and legal analysis of the three groups of documents. For of D's narrative portions, there are but three details which can be claimed as derived not from JE but from P^1, whilst all the rest is either clearly derived from JE, or is at least different from P. And as to the legislation, we have but carefully to go through the numerous triplets, as tabled, say, in Dr. Driver's "Deuteronomy," (1895) pp. IV-VII, to find that, whereas the legislation of JE, especially the "Book of the Covenant," is to be found again, sometimes *verbatim*, sometimes recast or expanded in D, the legislation of P stands to D either parallel (so in passages belonging to P^h), or as clearly more detailed and advanced. In but one case, the law of clean and unclean animals (Lev., XI, 2–23), is there such remarkable even verbal agreement, with D (Deut., XIV, 3–20) as to require the derivation either of the former from the latter, or that of both from an older Code. The latter will appear the more reasonable explanation, if we remember how in D there is no mention of the distinction between the Priests, the sons of Aaron and the common "Levites", so often insisted on by P; or of the Levitical cities and year of Jubilee; or of the elaborate sacrificial system of P, neither the meal offering, guilt-offering, or sin-offering, ever appearing in D; or of the great Day of Atonement, the culmination (Lev., XVI.) of P's system of sacrifice and purification (cc. I–XV). The paraenetic popular character of D can hardly alone account for all this divergence from P. Some of this must be found in a difference, if not of existence and non-existence, yet of degree of development and prominence, existent at the time of codification in the institutions referred to or enforced.

And finally, if we take the laws of P, as exemplified by our second passage, especially if we restrict ourselves to those of

[1] Holzinger, l. c., p. 300.

PJ (Exod., XXV-XXIX, Lev. I-XVI, Numb., I-X, XVI, XVIII, XIX), we shall find again that these also completely correspond to all that P tells us from the first. For these laws are no more, as is Deuteronomy, in conflict for but one altar. They simply presuppose it throughout. And thus too the narratives have this striking peculiarity,—nowhere in pre-Sinaitic times do even the Patriarchs erect altars or offer sacrifice, and that although in the Noachian laws given by P (Gen., IX, 1-3) God allows the killing of animals for food. Absolutely only one place, from the beginning of the world, is mentioned by P as the scene of a licit altar or sacrifice,—the Tent of Meeting, and that alone. To this there is but the one apparent exception of the Passover, instituted on the leaving Egypt (Exod. XII, 1-20); but this is not a sacrifice in the strict sense, there is neither priest nor altar; and the projected ordinary sacrifice of sheep and oxen, advanced by the Jews as the excuse for the Exodus (Exod., VII, 16; X, 9), is mentioned by JE, not by P.

The reader will doubtless have noticed that, in thus comparing the legislation of the several documents of the Hexateuch with what is told us of the actual cultual history in the other books of the Bible, we have added a third class of arguments to our two previous ones, the first of which was taken from the narratives, and the second from the legislation of the Hexateuch itself. I do not see how we can refuse to call the third great argument external, as truly external as if drawn from extra-biblical literature, and if so to allow that here at least we have reached a sufficient means for testing and checking any subjectivity that may possibly have vitiated our previous analyses.

From all this, and much more that could be alleged, it would seem to follow that we have, in the Hexateuch, not only four great documents, J and E, D and P, but apparently also three successive stages of legislative development, represented by the Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy, and the Priestly Code respectively. Yet it will be well to remember, as to the legislation, with such cautious scholars as Kittel and Baudissin, that even the literary form of the older parts of the legislation of P (P^h) is sometimes simply parallel with D; whereas as to

the substance of the generality of the laws of D and P everything points to so steady a flow of tradition at the central sanctuary from the days of Moses down to the Babylonish captivity, and to having been there still further codified and developed by the Priests, against the restoration under Ezrah and Nehemiah (458, 444 B. C.), that the three stages must be taken largely, and often as but approximations, but as shiftings or deepening of emphasis, if we would not sacrifice solidity to system.[1]

Probably the most difficult point, in all this developmental question, for the Christian apologist is, not the simple admission that the book found in B. C. 623, was Deuteronomy, for this much was held by St. Jerome, Comm. in Ezech. ad. I. 1, and St. John Chrysostom, Hom. 9, in 1 Cor.; and is maintained by Abbé Vigouroux, "Manuel Biblique," 8th ed. v. II., p. 106; but that this Deuteronomy was a predominantly prophetic reformation and readaptation of previous Mosaic law, and can hardly have been composed, as we have it, before the reign of King Manasse (B. C. 698–643). Yet this point, which it seems impossible to successfully contest, may prove more acceptable if we bear in mind the following considerations: (1) There is no difficulty in holding that, from the very first, the Mosaic legislation, whilst founding a central sanctuary before the Ark, expressed a preference for this sanctuary; "the best, the first fruits of thy land, thou shalt bring to this dwelling of Jahweh, thy God," says already the Book of the Covenant (Exod., XXIII, 19). (2) This preference, expressed by Moses at Sinai, may have been "indicated with" still "greater emphasis by Moses in a final discourse in the plains of Moab," remarks Fr. van den Biesen[2] and Dr. Driver, in company with Prof. Franz Delitzsch and Oettli, considers it "highly probable that there existed the tradition, perhaps even in a written form, of such an address, to which some of the laws peculiar to Deuteronomy were attached, as those common to it and JE are attached to the legislation at Horeb."[3] Thus the only two long documents

[1] It is much to be desired that Abbé Loisy's articles, "Ernest Renan, Historien d'Israel," *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, 1895-1896, should appear in book-form and in an English dress. They contain the most finely penetrating and cautious sketch of Old Testament History and Theology as yet produced by a Catholic for the modern educated reader.

[2] *Dublin Review*, Jan., 1893, p. 47.

[3] "Introduction," ed. 1893, p. 85.

which themselves claim to have been written down by Moess (the "Book of the Covenant," Exod. XX, 23; XXIII, 23, in Exod., XXIV, 4; and Deuteronomy, I, 6, XXXI 8, 24, 26) would indeed have originally been written by him (in a simpler, partially different form), and even our present Deuteronomy would be but a reformulation of such laws, speeches and writings. (3) Moses' central and fundamental intention, the exclusive worship of Jahweh, implied from the first the sanction and authority of Moses, as transmitted to the succession of priests of the central sanctuary, for such increased stringency or modification of any of his regulations as might in course of time become simply necessary to the very evidence of this exclusive worship; especially where, as in the case of unity of sanctuary, he had, within his own lifetime, shown an increasing preference for a central sanctuary. (4) A gradual growth of the Law, across the centuries is, of itself, not less worthy of God, than its complete communication within some thirty years. Indeed such a growth, gathering up within it the varied and ever widening and deepening, divinely stimulated and divinely guided experience of priest and prophet in tempest and in calm, the rural sternness of an Amos, the statesman's vision of an Isaiah, the melting humanity of a Jeremiah, the priestly ardor and pastoral tenderness of an Ezechiel; ever meeting the new situation with a slow, unbroken stream of adaptation of old principles to new needs, has about it an impressiveness, a dramatic interest and rich pathos, at least for the historically minded, far exceeding the attractions of the old view. And the apologetic advantages of such a conception are great; they can be studied at length in such a book as Prof. Bruce's "Apologetics," Edinburgh, 1892, pp. 164–336. (5) The final difficulty, the remnant of what is, for us Westerns and Moderns, in D, and still more in P, a certain defect of historical consciousness or presentation, would seem to be best met by the consideration that we have here to do with a divine revelation and education granted to, intended for, and communicated through the minds of Orientals of from three to over two thousand years ago. The very strength of our belief in the reality of that divine guidance, and of its admirable adaptation to those men and times, would

thus make us sure beforehand of a pervading difference between their message and what we would rightly expect of a revelation addressed to and assimilated by us here and now.

Three general questions I will just touch upon, and I have done.

I. It is often assumed that all or most critics are, at best, but serious rationalists, anti-miraculous, anti-supernatural *doctrinaires*; and hence that, in so directly religious a matter as the Bible, such men cannot be other than unsafe guides. But even if we grant the alleged matter of fact, the inference would appear more plausible than true. For what have the questions of documentary sources or of legal stages to do with philosophical and religious truths? Let every word of the Hexateuch report an authentic miracle, or let there be not one such throughout, and the method for its careful study and the evidence for or against these sources and stages remain precisely the same. "It is always," says Prof. Robertson Smith, "for the interest of truth to discuss historical questions by purely historical methods, without allowing theological questions to come in till the historical analysis is complete. This indeed is the chief reason why scholars indifferent to the religious value of the Bible have often done good service by their philological and historical studies," "though no one can thoroughly understand the Bible without spiritual sympathy.[1]" Nor is the alleged fact true. The men who, by universal consent, were the founders of Biblical and Hexateuchal criticism, Richard Simon and Jean Astruc, lived and died as a stainless Catholic priest and a devout Catholic layman respectively. And if, unfortunately, their principles and methods were long allowed to be worked and deflected by more or less purely Rationalist Protestants alone; if even such recent leading and brilliant scholars as Reuss, Kuenen, Wellhausen, are still largely infected with Naturalism,[2] yet Biblical scholarship is clearly coming back to the temper and the home of its earliest days. For, amongst non-Catholics there is an ever-increasing band of thoroughly critical scholars sensitively respectful to

[1] "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church," 2d ed., p. 314.

[2] It is, however, only just to remember the admirable conservative criticism of Kuenen directed against Renan, Vernes, and others; and the pages, full of spiritual conviction and emotion, which Wellhausen has devoted to the Prophets. See my "Church and the Bible," *Dublin Review*, April, 1896.

religion, or even full of deep faith and devotion. Can the most exacting reader find anything irreverent in the pages of Dillmann or of Baudissin, of Strack, of König, of Driver or of Herbert Ryle? Or find anywhere a more touchingly devotional spirit than in Franz Delitszch, who fought so long and bravely against our contentions and who so nobly ended by welding them into his unshaken faith, or a more fiery central conviction than in Robertson Smith, who lived and died a most painful death, full of rock-firm faith in the Old Testament Revelation and its divine fulfillment in the person of Jesus Christ? And, amongst Catholics, we have now in Abbé Loisy a rare combination of caution and courage, competence and charm, one, too, equally at home in the philological and historical niceties and in the philosophy and theology of these increasingly important questions; we have Dr. Bickell in Germany, Prof. Van Hoonacker at Louvain, Père Lagrange at Jerusalem, Drs. Robert Clarke and van den Biesen in England, not to mention others who have done and are doing good work (Old Testament work) along thoroughly critical lines.

II. Next, it is often urged that there is no stability, no unanimity among the critics: *tot homines, tot sententiae.* But here we must be on our guard against first appearances; for in this as in all other branches of human research, men do not debate on points of agreement, but on points of difference, and hence their continuous conflicts on even fresh points are quite compatible with accord, and ever increasing accord, on an ever increasing number of other points. And such stability can be found here. Jean Astruc, 1793, attributed, in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, 137 verses to his document A (our P).[1] I have carefully compared his analysis with that given in Kautzsch's German Bible, 1896, and find that 110½ of these verses are still attributed to P; that is, 140 years and more of ceaseless criticism have left over four-fifths of his conclusions, on this his most important point, intact. Theodor Nöldeke, in his "Untersuchungen," (1868, pp. 143, 144) attempted anew to sift out the passages belonging to the "Grundschrift," (our P) from the other documents. Now "out of about 350 complete verses in Genesis assigned by him to this document, only 30 are attributed by recent

[1] See the table given by Cornill, "Einleitung in das Alte Testament," 1891, p. 18.

critics to other documents (chiefly J). In other words, nearly 30 years of searching investigation leave fully nine-tenths of the results previously achieved unshaken in this the most important department of the field ?[1] The reader will have noted the stability, and growing stability. As to unanimity, let the reader go through Holzinger's tables on the analysis of the documents, in which he gives, for each verse of the Hexateuch the analyses of the five contemporary, mutually independent specialists, Dillmann, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Budde, Cornill; and he will quickly find that they are here, although otherwise so different, in remarkable substantial agreement. Or let him take Dr. Brigg's list[2] of 45 living German, 10 French, 6 Dutch, 22 British and 20 American scholars, who are all essentially agreed as to the critical analysis of the Hexateuch; and then note there, how Prof. Green, in attempting a rival list of anti-critics, has been able, on his side, to produce the names of but four professional Old Testament scholars: four against one hundred and three! And so also as regards the types and stages of the Law. Here again there is practical unanimity as to the three types of the Law: Book of the Covenant, Deuteronomy, Priestly Code; as to the first of these being the most primitive type: and as to Deuteronomy, in its present form, being not older than the reign of Manasse. The battle is here confined to the question as to the correct succession and relationship between Deuteronomy and the Priestly Code, and as to the dates of the latter.

III. Last, we may be asked to produce some other case where, what the critics declare to have happened in the Hexateuch, has undeniably taken place. As to this, let the reader note three things. First, the Bible-library still includes several instances of still separate parallel books: there are the books of Samuel and Kings on the one hand, and the books of Chronicles on the other; there are the 1st and 2d book of Maccabees; there are the four Gospels. If the divergences of style and detail, of point of view, of doctrinal or ritual development, get overlooked in the Hexateuch because occurring in different documents there welded into one consecutive narrative, here, on

[1] Critical Review, Edinburg, pp. 299, 300.

[2] The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch, ed. 1897, p. 144.

the contrary, they are apt to escape the reader because they occur in separate books: it is only on comparing the Hexateuch documents, when separated off, as in Fripp's Composition of the Book of Genesis (London, 1892), with say the Kings and Chronicles texts, when put side by side, as in Girdlestone's "Deutographs" (Oxford, 1894), that the full similarity of the phenomena can be rightly appraised. Next, such originally separate documents or books, of different authors, schools or ages, have, in religious literature especially, been repeatedly worked up into one common text. So with the fusion of the two texts of the Gallican and Roman rites in the later Roman liturgical books.[1] So with the so-called "Apostolic Constitutions," which Abbé Duchesne would call "The Egyptian Apostolic Constitutions,"[2] and which is made up of at least three, or according to Prof. Harnack, of four anterior documents: the Didaché, the Epistle of Barnabas, and two other treatises, the whole joined together by a Redactor.[3] Finally, such compilations have, at times, been effected on parallel books or texts of Scripture. So with the Books of Chronicles which consist largely of a still quite plainly traceable fusion of texts still separately extant in our books of Samuel and Kings, and of otherwise lost texts or information derived from elsewhere by the Redactor, the Chronicler himself.[4] So also with the *Diatessaron* of Tatian, a parallel worthy of careful consideration. This harmony, made by Tatian, possibly a Syrian or even Greek, but "born," as he himself says, "in the land of the Assyrians," a convert from heathenism, and, later on, a Valentinian Gnostic, was originally composed probably in Greek, possibly in Syriac, somewhere between 160 and 180 A. D.[5] If originally Greek, it must at once have been translated into Syriac, for throughout the third century the work was, throughout large stretches of Syrian Church territory, especially in Edessa, the only Gospel text in use; indeed S. Ephrem Syrus wrote a commentary to it as late as 360–370 A. D., and even Theodoret of Cyrus (d. about 458) had in many

[1] See Abbé Duchesne's "Origines du Culte Chrétien," 2d ed., *passim*.

[2] "Altchristliche Litteratur," II. 1, p. 532.

[3] *Bulletin Critique*, 1886, p. 361.

[4] See the detailed proof of this in Prof. Curtiss's excellent article: "Style as an element in determining the authorship of Old Testament documents." *American Journal of Theology*, 1897, pp. 312-327.

[5] Bardenhewer's "Patrologie," 1894. pp. 99-102.

places to introduce for the first time the four separate canonical Gospels.[1] And Bishop Victor of Capua (d. 554), in causing a Latin Gospel harmony to be copied, in lieu of the separate Gospels, into the Latin New Testament, produced under his supervision and still extant as the *Codex Fuldensis*, no doubt rightly held this Latin harmony (composed about 500 A. D.) to be based upon Tatian's work.

Now, if we compare the long-lived composite text of Tatian, which we now actually possess, by means of the later *Codex*, still more by means of S. Ephrem's Commentary, above all through an Arabic translation of the Harmony itself,[2] with the composite text of the Hexateuch, as presented to us by the critics, the following suggestive parallel presents itself, unforced, unsought. For the Hexateuch, the critics maintain that four documents, of three groups of dates and temper, were worked up by a Redactor into a Harmony, a *Diatessaron;* that this Harmony was effected, say fifty years after the completion of the last document, by using this last document (P) as the *Grundschrift*, as the chronological and general framework of the whole, and by breaking up the documents into fragments large and small, retaining and putting alongside of each other such doublets and triplets as at all varied from each other, so as to put the reader in possession of all the facts and all the interpretations of them.

For the Diatessaron, we all now *know* that Tatian worked up the four separate Gospels, of three groups of dates and school, SS. Mark and Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John, into a Harmony, some 60 to 80 years after the composition of the last, by using this last Gospel as his *Grundschrift*, as his chronological and general framework, and by breaking up, oftener than the Redactor of the Hexateuch, his documents into small fragments; since his "plan, adopted throughout, was inclusive, not exclusive," "a statement from one Gospel is occasionally immediately followed by a nearly identical statement from another," "he did not attempt a choice between different reports in different Gospels, but inserted all that Jesus was reported to have said."[3]

[1] Theodereti Haeret. Fabul. Compend., I. 20. Harnack's "Altchr. Litteratur," II. 1, p. 289.
[2] Published in Arabic and Latin, by Monsignor Ciasca, Rome, 1888.
[3] "The Earliest Life of Christ" by Hill, Edinburgh, 1894, p. 37.

For more detailed comparison, I give two specially composite passages, the first, the taking of Jericho, Joshua VI, 6–27, from Haupt's Rainbow Bible, the second, the Last Supper, from Tatian's Diatessaron, XLV, 10–18.[1] Let the reader distinctly understand, that I do not by this intend to endorse the analysis of this or of many other similarly intricate passages of the Hexateuch as finally established or even as absolutely established. I but aim at showing that, even in such complex, unfavorable cases, the general conception of the critics is not unreasonable. The particular passage given from Tatian is simpler than that from the Hexateuch only in this, that it is all but untouched by the Redactor. But such work can be found elsewhere in Tatian: omissions in XI, 10; 44; XII, 19; XXV, 17; XXXIII, 8; XXXIV, 11, 15, 19; additions: X, 14; XVIII, 3; modifications: III, 1; XII, 49.

FRIEDRICH VON HÜGEL.

[1] Appendix C.

APPENDICES.

A. Two simple Narrative Texts compared, from *P* and *J*.

B. Three simple Legislative Texts compared, from *E*, D and *P*.

C. A composite Text of the Hexateuch compared with a composite Text of Tatian's Diatessaron.

In the Hexateuch Texts:

All parts belonging to the Elohist (Ephraemite), E, are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to the Jahvist (Jehovist), J, are printed in this type.

ALL PARTS BELONGING TO THE DEUTERONOMIST, D, ARE PRINTED IN THIS TYPE.

All parts belonging to the Priestly Code, P, are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to the final Redactor, R, are printed in this type.

In the Diatessaron Text:

All parts belonging to St. Mark are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to St. Matthew are printed in this type.

ALL PARTS BELONGING TO ST. LUKE ARE PRINTED IN THIS TYPE.

All parts belonging to St. John are printed in this type.

All parts belonging to the Redactor, Tatian, are printed in this type.

All the Hexateuch Texts are given in the Latin of the Clementine Vulgate (ed. Vercellone Rome, 1861), with but such modifications as appeared necessary to more fully bring out the identity or difference of the words of the Hebrew original; the additions required by the Hebrew or LXX have been bracketed.

In Appendix *C*, I have followed, for the Hexateuch passage, the analysis of W. H. Bennett's "Book of Joshua" (in Haupt's "Rainbow" Bible), 1895; for the Diatessaron passage, I have given the translation and analysis of Mgr. Ciasca's edition, Rome, 1888.

(1) *Genesis* I, 1–II, 4ª (P.)

In principio creavit Deus coelum et terram. Terra autem erat inanis **I** 1.2
et vacua, et tenebrae erant super faciem abyssi; et spiritus Dei ferebatur
super aquas.

Dixitque Deus: "Fiat lux." Et facta est lux. Et vidit Deus lucem quod 3.4
esset bona. Et divisit (Deus) lucem a tenebris. Appellavitque lucem "Diem," 5
et tenebras (appellavit) "Noctem." Factumque est vesper (factumque est) 8
mane, dies unus. Dixitque Deus: "Fiat firmamentum in medio aquarum, 6
et dividat aquas ab aquis." Et factum est ita. Et fecit Deus firmamentum, 7*ba*
divisitque aquas, quae erant sub firmamento, ab his quae erant super
firmamentum. Appellavitque Deus firmamentum "Coelum." Factumque est
vesper (factumque est) mane, dies secundus. Dixitque Deus: "Congregentur 9
aquae, quae sub coelo sunt, in locum unum, et appareat arida." Et factum 10
est ita. Appellavitque Deus aridam "Terram," et congregationes aquarum
appellavit "Maria." Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Dixitque (Deus): 11
"Viridet terra viridum—herbam seminantem semen, et lignum pomiferum
faciens fructum juxta genus suum, cujus semen in semetipso—super terram."
Et factum est ita. Et protulit terra viridum, herbam seminantem semen 12
juxta genus suum, lignumque faciens fructum cujus semen in semetipso
secundum speciem suam. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Factumque est 13
vesper (factumque est) mane, dies tertius. Dixitque Deus: "Fiant lumi- 14
naria in firmamento coeli ut dividant diem ac noctem, et sint in signa et
tempora, et dies et annos, et sint ut luminaria in firmamento coeli ut illu- 15
minent terram." Et factum est ita. Et fecit Deus duo luminaria magna: 16
luminare majus, ut pracesset diei, et luminare minus, ut pracesset nocti;
et stellas. Posuitque eas in firmamento coeli, ut lucerent super terram et 17.18
pracessent diei et nocti, et dividerent lucem ac tenebras. Et vidit Deus quod
esset bonum. Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane dies quartus. 19
Dixitque Deus: "Pullulent aquae pullulos, animas viventes; et volatile 20
volet super terram, sub firmamento coeli." (Et factum est ita). Creavitque 21
Deus cete grandia, et omnem animam viventem atque repentem quam pul-
lulaverant aquae juxta genera sua; et omne volatile juxta genus suum. Et
vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Benedixitque eis Deus, dicens: "Fructificate 22
et multiplicamini, et replete aquas maris; avesque multiplicentur super
terram." Factumque est vesper (factumque est) mane, dies quintus. Di- 23.24
xitque Deus: "Proferat terra animam viventem juxta genus suum, jumenta,
et reptilia, et bestias terrae juxta genera sua." Et factum est ita. Et fecit 25
Deus bestias terrae juxta genera sua, et jumenta juxta genera sua, et omne
reptile terrae juxta genus suum. Et vidit Deus quod esset bonum. Dixitque 26
Deus: "Faciamus homines ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et do-
minent piscibus maris, et volatilibus coeli, et jumentis, et omnibus bestiis,
et omni reptili repenti super terram." Et creavit Deus hominem ad ima- 27
ginem suam, ad imaginem Dei creavit illum, masculum et feminam creavit
eos. Benedixitque eis Deus et dixit eis: "Fructificate et multiplicamini et 28
replete terram, et subjicite eam; et dominamini piscibus maris, et volati-
libus coeli, et omnibus animantibus pullulantibus super terram." Dixitque 29
Deus: "Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam seminantem semen quae est super
faciem omnis terrae, et omnia ligna quae habent fructum lignorum semi-
nantem semen,—vobis erit in escam. Sed omnibus bestiis terrae, et omni 30
volatili coeli, et omni quod repet super terram, (omni) in quo est anima
vivens, (dedi) omne viridum herbae in escam." Et factum est ita. Et vidit 31
Deus omne quod fecerat quod esset valde bonum. Factumque est vesper
(factumque est) mane, dies sextus.

Sic perfecti sunt coeli et terra, et omnis militia eorum. Perfecitque Deus **II** 1.2
die septimo opus suum quod fecerat, et requievit die septimo ab omni opere
suo quod fecerat. Benedixitque die septimo et sanctificavit eum, quia in ipso 3
requievit ab omni opere suo quod creavit Deus ut faceret.

Istae sunt generationes coeli et terrae, quando creati sunt. 4*a*

(2) *Genesis* II, 4ᵇ – 25 (J).

4ᵇ 5 *In die quo fecit Dominus* **Deus** *terram et coelum – et omne virgultum agri nondum ortum erat in terra, omnisque herba agri nondum germinaverat, non*
6.7 *enim pluerat Dominus* **Deus** *super terram, et homo non erat qui operaretur humum; sed fons ascendebat e terra, irrigans omnem faciem terrae, – formavit Dominus* **Deus** *hominem ex pulvere de humo, et inspiravit in nares ejus spi-*
8 *raculum vitae, et factus est homo in animam viventem.*
Plantavitque Dominus **Deus** *paradisum voluptatis in Oriente, et posuit ibi*
9 *hominem quem formaverat. Fecitque Dominus* **Deus** *germinare de terra omne lignum pulchrum ad videndum et suave ad vescendum, et lignum vitae in medio*
10 *paradisi, lignumque scientiae boni et mali. Et fluvius egrediebatur de loco vo-*
11 *luptatis ad irrigandum paradisum, qui inde dividitur in quattuor capita. Nomen*
12 *uni, Pison: ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Havilath, ubi aurum; et aurum*
13 *terrae illius optimum est; ibi invenitur bdellium et lapis onychinus. Et nomen*
14 *fluvii secundi Gihon, ipse est qui circuit omnem terram Aethiopiae. Et nomen fluminis tertii, Hiddekel, ipse est qui vadit in oriente Assyriae. Et fluvius quar-*
15 *tus, ipse est Euphrates. Tulit ergo Dominus* **Deus** *hominem, et posuit eum in*
16 *paradiso voluptatis, ut operaretur et custodiret illum. Praecepitque Dominus*
17 **Deus** *homini dicens: "Ex omni ligno paradisi poteris concedere; de ligno autem scientiae boni et mali ne concedas, in quocumque enim die comederis de eo, morte morieris."*
18 *Dixitque Dominus* **Deus**: *"Non est bonum esse hominem solum; faciamus*
19 *ei adjutorium simile sibi." Et formavit Dominus* **Deus** *de humo omnia animantia agri et omnia volatilia coeli, et adduxit ea ad hominem, ut videret quid vocaret ea;*
20 *et omne quod vocavit homo eas, animas viventes, ipsum est nomen earum. Appel-lavitque homo nominibus omnia jumenta et omnia volatilia coeli et omnes bestias*
21 *agri; homini vero non inveniebatur adjutor similis ei. Immisit ergo Dominus* **Deus** *soporem in hominem; cumque obdormisset, tulit unam de costis eius, et replevit carnem pro ea. Et aedificavit Dominus* **Deus** *costam quam tulerat de*
23 *homine in mulierem; et adduxit eam ad hominem. Dixitque homo: "Haec nunc, os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea; haec vocabitur virago, quia de viro*
24 *sumpta est." Quamobrem relinquet vir patrem suum et matrem suam, et adhae-*
25 *rebit viragini (uxori) suae, et erunt duo in carnem unam. Erat autem uterque nudus, homo et uxor ejus, et non erubescebant.*

(1) *Exodus* XX, 24-26 (E).

Altare de humo facies mihi, et sacrificabis super eo holocausta 24
tua et pacifica tua, oves tuas et boves tuos; in omni loco in quo effi-
ciam memoriam nominis mei, veniam ad te et benedicam tibi.

Quod si altare lapideum facies mihi, non aedificabis illud de sectis 25
lapidibus; si enim levaveris cultrum super eo, polluetur.

Non ascendes per gradus ad altare meum, ne reveletur turpitudo 26
tua ante eum.

(2) *Deuteronomy* XII, 1-14; 17, 18 (D).

HAEC SUNT STATUTA ET JUDICIA QUAE OBSERVABITIS AD FACIENDUM, IN TERRA QUAM
DOMINUS DEUS PATRUM TUORUM DATURUS EST TIBI UT POSSIDEAS EAM, CUNCTIS DIEBUS
QUIBUS SUPER HUMUM EJUS GRADIERIS
2 FUNDITUS DELEBITIS OMNIA LOCA IN QUIBUS GENTES QUAS DEPELLETIS COLUERUNT
DEOS SUOS SUPER MONTES EXCELSOS, ET SUPER COLLES, ET SUPTER OMNE LIGNUM VIRIDUM.
3 EVERTITE ARAS EORUM, ET CONFRINGITE STELAS EORUM, ET LUCOS EORUM COMBURETIS
IGNE, ET IDOLA DEORUM EORUM COMMINUETIS, ET DELEBITIS NOMINA EORUM DE LOCIS ISTIS.
4.5 NON FACIETIS SIC DOMINO DEO VESTRO, SED (SOLUM) AD LOCUM QUEM ELEGERIT DO-
MINUS DEUS VESTER DE CUNCTIS TRIBUBUS VESTRIS, UT PONAT NOMEN SUUM IBI ET FACIAT
6 HABITARE ILLIC, ADEUNDO VENIETIS ET IBIS ILLUC; ET OFFERETIS IN LOCO ILLO HOLOCAUSTA
VESTRA ET VICTIMAS VESTRAS ET DECIMAS VESTRAS ET PRIMITIAS MANUUM VESTRARUM, ET
VOTA VESTRA ET DENARIA VESTRA ET PRIMOGENITA BOUM VESTRORUM ET OVIUM VESTRARUM;
7 ET COMEDETIS IBI IN CONSPECTU DOMINI DEI VESTRI, ET LAETABIMINI SUPER CUNCTA QUAE
8 ACQUISIVERUNT MANUS VESTRAE, VOS ET DOMUS VESTRAE, IN QUIBUS BENEDIXERIT TIBI
DOMINUS DEUS TUUS.
9 NON FACIES (TUNC) SECUNDUM OMNE QUOD FACIMUS HODIE, SINGULI OMNE QUOD SIBI
10 RECTUM VIDETUR, NAM ADHUC NON VENISTIS AD REQUIEM QUAM DOMINUS DEUS TUUS
DATURUS EST TIBI. ET TRANSIBITIS JORDANEM, ET HABITABITIS IN TERRA QUAM DOMINUS
DEUS VESTER DATURUS EST VOBIS IN POSSESSIONEM; ET FACIET UT REQUIESCATIS A CUNCTIS
11 HOSTIBUS VESTRIS PER CIRCUITUM, ET HABITABITIS TUTO: TUNC ERIT UT IN LOCUM QUEM
ELEGERIT DOMINUS DEUS VESTER UT SIT NOMEN EJUS IN EO, IN EUM (SOLUM) OMNIA QUAE
PRAECIPIO CONFERETIS, HOLOCAUSTA VESTRA ET HOSTIAS VESTRAS ET DECIMAS VESTRAS ET
PRIMITIAS MANUUM VESTRARUM, ET OMNE ELECTUM VOTORUH VESTRORUM QUAE VOVEBITIS
12 DOMINO, ET LAETABIMINI IN CONSPECTU DOMINI DEI VESTRI, VOS ET FILII VESTRI ET FILIAE
VESTRAE, SERVI VESTRI ET FAMULAE VESTRAE, ET LEVITES QUI EST IN OPPIDIS VESTRIS QUIA
NON EST EI NEC PARS NEC POSSESSIO INTER VOS.
13.14 CAVE TIBI NE OFFERAS HOLOCAUSTA TUA IN OMNI LOCO QUEM VIDERIS; SED (SOLUM)
IN LOCO QUEM ELEGERIT DOMINUS IN UNA TRIBUUM TUARUM ILLIC OFFERES HOLOCAUSTA
17 TUA ET ILLIC FACIES QUAECUMQUE PRAECIPIO TIBI. NON POTERIS COMEDERE IN OPPIDIS
TUIS DECIMAM FRUMENTI TUI ET VINI TUI ET OLEI TUI, ET PRIMOGENITA ARMENTORUM TUORUM
ET PECORUM TUORUM, ET OMNIA VOTA TUA QUAE VOVERIS, ET OBLATA TUA, ET PRIMITIAS
18 MANUUM TUARUM; SED (SOLUM) CORAM DOMINO DEO TUO COMEDES EA IN LOCO QUEM ELEGIT
DOMINUS DEUS TUUS, TU ET FILIUS TUUS ET FILIA TUA, ET SERVUS TUUS ET FAMULA TUA,
ET LEVITES QUI EST IN OPPIDIS TUIS; ET LAETABERIS CORAM DOMINO DEO TUO, IN CUNCTIS
QUAE ACQUISISTI.

(3) *Exodus* XXVII, 1, 2, 4, 6-8. XXVIII, 42, 43 (P).

1 Et facies altare de lignis sittim, quinque cubitos in longitudinem et
quinque cubitos in latitudinem, quadratum erit altare, et tres cubitos in
2 altitudinem. Et efficies ut sint cornua sua ad quattuor angulos suos, et
4 unum erunt cum eo cornua sua; et operies eum aere. Et facies ei craticulam,
in modum retis, aeneam; et facies ad craticulam quattuor annulos, ad quat-
6 tuor angulos ejus. Et facies vectes altaris, vectes de lignis sittim, et operies
7 eos aere, et induces hos vectes per annulos, et erunt vectes ad duo latera
8 altaris, ad portandum eum. Caveum facies eum.
42 Et facies (Aharon et filiis ejus) feminalia linea, ut operient carnem
43 turpitudinis; erunt a renibus usque ad femora; et erunt super Aharon et
filios ejus quando ingredientur tabernaculum testimonii, vel quando appro-
pinquant ad altare ut ministrent in sanctuario, ne portent culpam et mo-
riantur.

(1) *Josue* VI, 15-27 (the Taking of Jericho). E, J, D, and R.

Die autem septimo, diluculo consurgentes, circuierunt urbem, sicut dispositum 15
erat, septies. SOLUM HAC DIE CIRCUIERUNT CIVITATEM SEPTIES. **Cumque septimo** 16
circuito clangerunt buccinis sacerdotes, *dixit Josue ad omnem Israel:*
"Vociferamini: tradidit enim vobis Dominus civitatem; sitque civitas haec ana- 17
thema, et omnia quae in ea sunt, Domino. SOLA RAHAB MERETRIX VIVAT CUM UNI-
VERSIS, QUI CUM EA IN DOMO SUNT; ABSCONDIDIT ENIM NUNTIOS QUOS DIREXIMUS. **Vos** 18
AUTEM CAVETE NE DE HIS QUAE PRAECEPTA SUNT QUIPPIAM CONTINGATIS, ET SITIS PRAE-
VARICATIONIS REI, ET OMNIA CASTRA ISRAEL SUB PECCATO SINT ATQUE TURBENTUR. *Quidquid* 19
autem auri et argenti fuerit, et vasorum aeneorum, ac ferri, Domino consecretur,
repositum in thesauris ejus." Igitur omni populo vociferante **et clangentibus** 20
tubis, postquam in aures multitudinis vox sonitusque increpuit, muri
illico corruerunt; et ascendit unusquisque per locum qui contra se
erat, *ceperuntque civitatem. Et interfecerunt omnia quae erant in ea, a viro usque* 21
ad mulierem, ab infante usque ad senem. Boves quoque et oves et asinos in ore
gladii percusserunt.

Duobus autem viris, qui exploratores missi fuerant, dixit Josue: "Ingredi- 22
mini domum mulieris meretricis, et producite eam et omnia quae illius sunt, sicut
illi juramento firmastis." Ingressique juvenes, eduxerunt Rahab et parentes ejus, 23
fratres quoque et cunctam suppellictilem ***ac cognationem illius, et extra***
castra Israel manere fecerunt. **Urbem autem et omnia quae erant** 24
in ea, succenderunt; ABSQUE AURO ET ARGENTO ET VASIS AENEIS AC FERRO QUAE
IN AERARIUM DOMINI CONSECRARUNT. **Rahab vero meretricem et domum patris** 25
ejus et omnia quae habebat, fecit Josue vivere, et habitaverunt in medio
Israel usque in praesentem diem; eo quod absconderit nuntios, quos
miserat ut explorarent Jericho.

In tempore illo imprecatus est Josue, dicens: "Maledictus vir coram Domino, 26
qui suscitaverit et aedificaverit civitatem Jericho. In primogenito suo fundamenta
illius jaciat, et in novissimo liberorum ponat portas ejus."

FUIT ERGO DOMINUS CUM JOSUE, ET NOMEN EJUS VULGATUM EST IN OMNI TERRA. 27

(2) Tatian's *Diatessaron* XLV, 10-28 (the Last supper.).
Mc. Mtt., Luke, John.

10 Dixit autem Jesus: "Nunc clarificabitur Filius hominis, et Deus cla-
11 rificabitur in eo; et si Deus clarificabitur in eo, Deus etiam clarificabit eum
12 in semetipso; et continuo clarificabit eum. **Et manducantibus illis,** *accepit*
Jesus panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, deditque discipulis suis, et ait illis: "Acci-
13 *pite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum."* **Et accepto calice, gratias agens**
14 **benedixit, deditque eis,** et ait: *"Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes;"* **et bibe-**
15 **runt ex illo omnes. Et ait illis:** *"Hic est sanguis meus, novum testamentum,*
16 *pro multis effusus in remissionem peccatorum. Dico vobis, non bibam amodo de*
hoc succo vitis usque in diem quo illum bibam vobiscum novum in regno Dei;
17 *et* SIC FACITE IN MEAM COMMEMORATIONEM." AIT AUTEM JESUS SIMONI: "SIMON, ECCE
18 SATANAS EXPETIVIT, UT CRIBRARET VOS SICUT TRITICUM. EGO AUTEM ROGAVI PRO TE, UT
NON DEFICIAT FIDES TUA; ET TU QUOQUE, ALIQUANDO CONVERSUS, CONFIRMA FRATRES TUOS.
19 Filii mei, adhuc modicum vobiscum sum. Quaeretis me, et, sicut dixi Ju-
20 daeis, quo ego vado, vos non potestis venire, et vobis dico modo. Mandatum
21 novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem; et, sicut ego dilexi vos, sic et vos
22 diligite alterutrum. In hoc cognoscent omnes quia discipuli mei estis, si
dilectionem habueritis ad invicem." Dixit ei Simon Cephas: "Domine, quo
vadis?" Respondit Jesus et dixit illi: "Quo ego vado, tu non potes me modo
equi; venies autem postea."

23 *Tunc dixit illis Jesus: "Omnes vos derelinquetis me in ista nocte; scriptum*
24 *est: Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis. Post autem resurrectionem*
25 *meam, praecedam vos in Galilaeam."* *Respondit Simon Cephas, et ait illi: "Do-*
26 *mine, si omnes deficerint a te, ego nunquam a te deficiam,* EGO TECUM PARATUS
27 SUM AD CARCEREM ET AD MORTEM, et animam meam pro te ponere." Dixit ei
Jesus: "Animam tuam pro me pones? Amen, amen dico tibi, **quia tu hodie**
28 **in nocte hac, priusquam gallus bis cantaverit,** TER ABNEGES NOSSE ME." **At**
Cephas amplius loquebatur: "Et si venerim tecum ad mortem, non
te negabo, Domine." Similiter autem et omnes discipuli dixerunt.

EUROPEAN CONGRESSES OF 1897.

If we were to add another phrase to the long list of epithets which writers have employed to characterize our age, we might say that we live in an era of congresses. National and international in composition and scope, the effect of a deeper interest in the study of religious, moral, social, scientific, economic and political questions, they promise enduring results for the progress of human knowledge. As their value is not entirely beyond dispute, some observations on those held in Europe last summer, made by one who had the privilege of attending some of them, may not be without interest.

There are those who claim that a scientific congress means merely a pleasant voyage, invitations to banquets, parades and the like. According to this view, one can not expect profound treatment of pressing problems nor wise suggestions for their solution. We are far from denying that there are drawbacks, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the congresses in question respond to a legitimate aspiration of our time or that they have done much good. The elimination of the narrow national spirit from a science, contact of eminent men with one another, exchange of views on the great movements of the time, resolutions drafted—all these results are valuable for the progress of science and the adjustment of scientific questions of international interest. Proof of what congresses have done and what they may do, is to be found in the literature to which they have given rise. We review briefly some of the congresses held in Europe last summer.

A. Scientific Congresses.

1. The Fourth International Scientific Congress of Catholics.—This Congress was held at Friburg, Switzerland, August 16–20.

The institution of those congresses is due to two French priests, Mgr. Duilhé de St. Projet and Mgr. D'Hulst, both of whom are well known by their writings and by their work for

higher education. The former was rector of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, the latter was rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, both remaining actively interested in educational work till their deaths.

The work of these congresses includes most branches of human knowledge. Distinct sections are devoted to Religion; Philosophy; Jurisprudence, Economics, Social Science; History; Philology; Mathematics: Natural Sciences; Biology and Medicine; Christian Art. Each section is practically a congress in itself. Theology alone was omitted, but refused admission by the door, it seems to have entered through the window. It appeared in one form or another in the earlier congresses, and at the last one it took the form of Exegesis.

The first two congresses were held at Paris, the third at Brussels. France, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Italy, England and America were all represented at the last one. Dr. Shahan and Dr. DeSaussure, of the Catholic University of Washington, were elected vice presidents of the historical and mathematical sections respectively.

Without doubt, men of no great scientific authority, as well as those who are really eminent, appear at such gatherings. The work of preparation is extremely difficult, while organization and direction require great prudence and tact. But such things offer no problem which time and wisdom may not easily solve.

The reports of the Friburg Congress have not yet appeared. Aside from the verbal accounts of those who attended, and the reports in the newspapers of the time, we have as yet only the more or less incomplete notices which were published in the following magazines: *Revue des questions scientifiques*, October, 1897; *Revue Néo-scholastique*, October, 1897; *Revue Thomiste*, September, 1897; *Etudes Religieuses*, September 20, 1897; *Revue de l'Enseignement Supérieur*, October, 1897; *Rivista Internazionale*, October, 1897; *Revue de Lille*, October–November, 1897; *Catholic World*, December, 1897. Most of the articles here referred to were written by participators in the Congress.

It is gratifying to note that one and all, they have words of high appreciation for the serious character of the work done

and for the share which the University of Friburg had in the preparations for the Congress. In the Brussels Congress, Philosophy and History seemed to absorb the most attention, while at the last one, Exegesis and Social Science, the latter in its practical aspects, seemed to assert themselves more particularly. One can not help noticing the spirit of scientific liberty and the healthy democratic ideas which marked the work of this Congress throughout.

The next Congress will be held at Munich in 1901, preparations for which are under the direction of Baron Von Hertling. To insure the greatest measure of success, we beg to suggest that a commission make an exhaustive study of the preceding congresses and report at the opening session. Another commission should study thoroughly the actual conditions of thought and indicate just where it would be wisest to direct Catholic scientists to pursue their labors. The questions for discussion in the sections should be carefully determined; papers to be read should be printed and distributed before the sessions. We think too, that higher pedagogics should receive some attention, and that it would be worth while to bring about an international organization of Catholic Universities for the purpose of undertaking coöperative work in the cause of science.

2. Congress of Religious Sciences.—This Congress, held at Stockholm August 31 to September 4, 1897, was not a parliament of religions such as was held in Chicago, but a gathering of those who are interested in the study of religions. Three classes of questions were treated: (*a*) The general problems; (*b*) Problems of Protestant Christianity as dominant in the northern countries; (*c*) Comparative religions. On the last named there appeared but one paper. Though the Congress was intended to be international, it was practically Scandinavian. Of the three hundred delegates who took part in the deliberations, there were but twenty-five to represent Germany, France, England, and Russia. Yet in that small number there were well-known men, such as Max Müller, of Oxford, Chantepie de la Saussaye, of Amsterdam, Bonnet-Maury, Sabatier of Paris, and Meyer of Bonn.

As far as we know, the official report has not yet appeared. However, interesting accounts may be found in *Le Temps*

(September 8th) of Paris; *La Revue des Religions* (September-October, 1897). M. Sabatier has published his contribution to the Congress under the title "Sur la Religion et la Culture Moderne" (Fischbaker, Paris). A portion of the work is devoted to Catholicism, but, unfortunately, the Catholicism which the author combats is far from the historical reality.

3. THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.—This Congress, held at Paris September 5–12, 1897, was a notable gathering on account of the number who participated, the papers presented, and the revision of the statutes of the association. The work of the Congress fell under seven sections: Languages and Archæology of the far Orient (China, Japan, Indo-China, Malacca); of the Musselmen; of the Semitic peoples (Arameans, Hebrews, Phœnicians, Ethiopians) and Assyriology; of Egypt and Africa; Relations between Greece and the East; Ethnography and Folk-lore.

The report of the Congress has not yet been published, but an interesting article on it from the pen of Jean Réville may be found in the *Revue des Religions* (September-October, 1897.)

4. CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF SOCIOLOGY.—This Congress was held at Paris July 21–24, 1897.

In 1893 M. René Worms founded the Institute at Paris. The membership is limited to one hundred, yet it has shown a remarkable vitality in publishing already a review, a series of annals, a library, and in having held three congresses. There were but twenty-five delegates present at the last one, prominent among them being MM. Worms, Tarde, Novicow, Lilienfeld, Espinas, Garofalo and Achille Loria. The chief topic of discussion was the organic concept of society. The theory was strongly supported by its well-known defenders, Novicow and Lilienfeld and opposed with great vigor by Tarde, Stein and deKrauz. The opponents of the theory seemed to have the best of the argument. The report has not yet appeared, but a fair opinion of the work of the Congress may be formed from the articles bearing on it in the following magazines: *Revue de l'Enseignement Supérieur*, September, 1897, by M. Tarde; *Revue Néo-scolastique*, October, 1897, by M. Crahay; *Annals of the American Academy*, January, 1898, by M. Worms.

5. International Medical Congress, Moscow, August 20-26.—This Congress, the eleventh of its kind, was attended by no less than 7,600 members. This great number, if we may believe M. O. Lourie, (*Revue Philosophique*, February, 1898), "did not do much to advance contemporary science, but it rather furnished to psychology an additional proof of the intellectual inferiority of multitudes." Nevertheless there were some interesting papers presented, notably one by Virchow on the continuity of life as the basis of the biological conception; one by Bernheim on the relations of hypnotism and suggestion to mental disease, and one by Lambroso on the new applications of psychiatry.

6. International Congress of Neurology, Psychiatry, Medical Electricity and Hypnology.—The most interesting discussion of this Congress which convened at Brussels, September 14–19, was on criminal suggestion. Its result was substantially identical with the opinion expressed by Dr. Bramwell, of London, that less stress will be hereafter laid on the question of mental automatism of those who are hypnotized; and mere laboratory crimes will not be cited to support that theory, unless a consistent effort to discover the real condition of the patient by questioning him, be made by the operator. The idea of Dr. Bramwell is supplemented by some wise suggestions from Mgr. Mercier, of Louvain, who wrote on this phase of the Congress in the *Revue Néo-scholastique*, October, 1897. Two distinct points should be brought out. First, does the hypnotized person act as a free agent, or does he show by his conduct that he is entirely passive? Secondly, has the hypnotized person consciousness that he acts as a free agent or that he does not so act?

The work of the Congress is of particular value for the philosopher and the theologian as well as for the physician. The full report has not yet appeared

7. International Congress of Legal Medicine.—The work of this congress, held at Brussels, August 3–7, touched on many questions of the greatest interest, such as the responsibility of an accused person, the determination of the degree of responsibility, the care of insane criminals and the relation of hypnotism to crime. As regards the last named, the dis-

cussion brought out clearly the need of circumspection in admitting hypnotism as an element in crime, though the necessity of taking it into consideration was generally admitted.

8. CONGRESS OF GERMAN NATURALISTS.—No detailed information is available to us concerning this congress, held at Brunswick, in Germany, except that it embraced 33 sections, the last, of Frankfort, having had but 30. The three added were Anthropology and Ethnology; Geodesy and Cartography; Scientific Photography.

9. INTERNATIONAL LIBRARY CONFERENCE.—The work that this Congress did in London, July 17–23, was a continuation of the work begun by the first and only preceding Conference held in 1877.

10. INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CONFERENCE.—The report of the work of this conference, held at Brussels, August 2–4, is published in the *Bulletin de l' Institut International de Bibliographie*, second year. It gives the text of the resolutions in three languages, and contains besides a summary of the deliberations and some of the papers discussed.

The International Institute of Bibliography, which brought about this conference, organized at the Brussels Exposition, a general exhibit of Bibliology (history of books), Bibliotheconomy (preservation of books), and Bibliography (description and classification.)

11. CONGRESS OF LEARNED SOCIETIES OF PARIS AND THE DEPARTMENTS.—This Congress, annually held at Paris after Easter, is divided into many sections. We have as yet only the report of the section of Sciences.

12. Among the Congresses of Archæology held, we note two in particular; that of Nimes, May 18–24, and that of Mechlin.

13. The Congress of German Historians, held at Innsbruck, was remarkable. We have, unfortunately, only the meagre account to be found in the *Revue Historique*, November–December, 1897. From that account, however, we learn two interesting details. The question of free access to archives was discussed. Mr. Prutz, of Konigsberg, reading a paper on the desiderata of historians, drew some very advanced conclusions, which were approved by Stein, de Weech, and Schmoller. They maintained that archivists should be allowed the exer-

cise of some discrimination, but that unrestricted access to documents of an origin later than 1840 could not be allowed. Professor Schmoller held that the interests of the state sometimes make suppression necessary; that many archives in Germany contain documents whose publication would only arouse slumbering hatred. The House of Hohenzollern, he said, could not allow the publication of much that concerns itself, and records of court scandals, particularly of the Russian court, could not prudently be given to the public.

The other interesting point referred to was the discussion of individualism and socialism in history, the former being the view of the history of civilization which rests chiefly on great men, the latter resting on the conception of humanity as a whole. The discussion was carried on chiefly by Schmoller, Gothein, Stein, Michael, and Hartman.

B. Religious Congresses.

14. Italian Catholic Congress, Milan, begun August 30th. This Congress, the fifteenth of its kind, was remarkable for the large number who attended and the character of the resolutions adopted. The report is not yet out, but interesting descriptions may be found in the *Revista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, September, 1897, and in the *Civilta Cattolica*, n. 1136. This Congress, being national, should not be identified with the provincial gatherings which are not unfrequent in Italy.

15. Forty-fourth Annual Congress of German Catholics, Landshut, begun August 29. Nearly 10,000 persons participated, among them many eminent ecclesiastics and laymen. Resolutions were adopted on the independence of the Holy See, the duel, and public morals. Considerable discussion of social questions took place.

16. Congress of Catholics of Upper Austria, at Koniggratz in September. Aside from other national questions, the Congress took up the social question at length, framing a program of institutions which should be created for the amelioration of the laboring classes.

17. Congress of French Catholics, Paris, November 30 to December 5. This is a national Congress, not to be confounded with the provincial gatherings such as that held at Lille. The

Congress was divided into three sections, those of Religious and Social Works and that of the defense of Catholic interests. The Congress is an important factor in bringing about union and co-operation among the Catholics of France.

18. EUCHARISTIC CONGRESSES. There were two in particular—one held at Venice, August 9 to 12, the other at Paray-le-Monial, September 20.

19. CONGRESSES OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS. The fourth general Congress was held at Nimes, August 23 to 27. The report forms a large volume in 8°. A national Congress also was held at Brussels in late September. It was presided over by Father David, well known to English-speaking Catholics.

C. CONGRESSES FOR PUBLIC MORALITY.

20. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE REGULATION OF MORALS, Brussels, begun July 15. This gathering was indeed international, numbering among those who participated, many well known in political and religious circles. Among the matters discussed were the ever recurring question of the social evil, la recherche de la paternitè, and the publication of immoral literature. The report is not yet out.

21. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR SUNDAY REST, Brussels, begun July 7. Many eminent persons took part. The conditions in the various countries were exposed at length, as were also the obstacles met with in the needs of industry, commerce, railroads and the press. State intervention and private co-operation in establishing a more thorough observance of Sunday received much attention during the sessions. The great majority of those who took part in the Congress were favorable to State intervention. We have as yet only the meager details furnished by the papers of the time, as the official report has not yet been received.

22. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AGAINST THE ABUSE OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKS, Brussels, August 30 to September 3. Preparations for this gathering were wise and thorough. A program of conferences for the general meetings was announced, as was also a list of questions to be handled by each of the four sections: *a*, Legislation, Sociology and Political Economy; *b*,

Education and Instruction; *c*, Medicine and Hygiene; *d*, Propaganda, Co-operation of Women in the Work. The papers presented were printed in advance, indicating clearly, principles, conclusions and measures to be taken. There can be no doubt that the work of the Congress will result in much good. The report is expected soon.

23. Women's Congress, Brussels, begun August 4th. Representatives of all shades of opinion from all countries attended. Among the questions discussed were la recherche de la paternité, the economic position of woman, her place in intellectual pursuits and in charity organization. A French Catholic lady who attended as delegate, presented a long paper on the woman's movement as viewed from the Christian standpoint, maintaining that Christian principles emphatically favor the cause. This movement has met much opposition, clothed generally in ridicule; but a serious observer, if he be fair minded, cannot fail to see that we have here a question whose solution will vitally affect every side of social life; religion, family, morals, social economics, politics, education, population, labor, salary, hygiene. The most difficult problems confronting society belong to the woman question. The effort of woman to aid society in their solution merits at least serious consideration.

The report of this Congress is not yet published.

D. Social and Economic Congresses.

24. International Congress for Working Men's Homes, Brussels, July 23–25. Twelve questions, to be discussed at this Congress were prepared, and each was the object of several papers by specialists. The Working Men's Homes of New York were discussed in a paper by M. Gilder, and those of Philadelphia by M. Lindsay. Ten governments and a large number of cities were officially represented among the 500 delegates who attended. The report has just appeared. It makes an octavo volume of xl+546 pages—a valuable contribution to the literature on this great question.

25. International Congress on Accidents and Insurance of Working Men, Brussels, July 26–31. This was the fourth Congress of the kind, the others having been held at Paris, Berne, and Milan.

Ten questions were sent out in advance of the meeting and over thirty papers on them were received in reply. Fourteen States were officially represented. Among the 800 who were present were many men eminent in science, political and industrial life. The questions of obligatory insurance and insurance in the case of culpable neglect received much attention. The discussions were learned, sometimes animated, always instructive. Great varieties of opinion came to expression, but the majority seemed to agree that obligatory insurance (even though not governmental) imposed upon laborers and employers—extending even to culpable neglect—is just and useful.

The report makes a most interesting volume of xlv+997 pages. Its value is enhanced by a good alphabetical table.

26. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE PROTECTION OF LABOR, Zurich, August 22–28. The unique feature of this gathering is that here for the first time Catholics and Socialists met in convention. They gave united support to many questions, among them the forbidding of Sunday labor in general, and of night work for women and children, the determination of a minimum age for the work of children in factories and of a maximum to constitute a legal work day. They were divided chiefly on the question of woman in industry. Catholics favored her gradual exclusion from industry, insisting on her higher mission to society, while the Socialists favored absolute independence and equality for women, seeing in the family nothing but an association based on interest, and suggesting that children be placed in the care of the state. A vote rejected the proposition supported by the Catholics.

The Congress attracted widespread attention. We have not yet received the report, but articles giving considerable valuable information may be found in the following magazines: *Revue Sociale Catholique*, October, 1897, by Hector Lambrechts; *Revue Thomiste*, September, 1897; *Revista Internazionale*, October, November, December, 1897, three articles by MM. Toniolo and Serralunga; The Academie des Sciences Morales et politiques, Séances et Travaux, March, 1898.

27. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY, Brussels, September 6–11. The Congress was divided into five sections: *a*, Personal Property; *b*, Commercial Law; *c*, Polit-

ical Economy; *d*, Industrial Labor; *e*, International Relations and Transportation. Two or three questions were selected from each section, in all thirteen. Seventeen papers were presented, touching as well questions of ethics, law and economics, as the more technical ones of patent rights, speculation and insurance.

The report is not yet out, but if we may judge from the press of the time, the discussions were serious, turning often to questions treated by the Congress on Accidents and Insurance.

28. INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR LABOR LEGISLATION, Brussels, begun September 27. The committee charged with the work of preparation had prepared six questions on which fifteen papers were sent in. These were printed and distributed before the sessions were begun.

Many eminent men took part, among them von Berlepsch, former Minister of Commerce of Germany, and the chief figure in the memorable Berlin Conference of 1890. The report has not yet appeared.

29. INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL CONGRESS, Brussels, August 17. We have no source of information yet, except the newspapers of the time. From them we learn that, aside from matters touching the Congo, the broader question of colonization in all aspects was discussed; political relations between colonies and the mother country, colonial representation, the religious, judicial, administrative and military organization, and the possible utilization of colonies in settling the tramp question.

30. CONGRESS OF HYGIENE AND CLIMATOLOGY, Brussels, begun August 12. We have no details of the work of this Congress, but it merits a place here since it touches on industrial and colonial interests.

31. LABOR CONGRESSES, such as Trades' Union Congress of Birmingham, the Democratic Congress of Tours, Congress of Mutualists of Brussels, Socialist Congresses in various countries, as those of Paris, Boulogne and Hamburg. We have as yet none of the reports.

32. CONGRESS OF ZIONISTS, BASLE, August 29. This Congress was inspired by the idea of constituting a country for

the numberless Jews plunged in misery in Galacia and Roumania and Eastern Europe in general. It seems not to have been an entire success. Some details may be found in the *Revue Catholique des Revues*, vol. v., p. 690 (account based on the *Israelitische Monatschrift*), *Nineteenth Century*, August and September, 1897, and the *Contemporary Review*, October, 1897.

E. Professional Congresses.

33. International Congress of Lawyers, Brussels, begun August 1. This Congress, the first of its kind, was well organized, and it seems to have been a complete success. Sixteen questions selected for discussion were classified in five sections, there having been however, a sixth complementary section.

Twenty-two nations—Japan included—were represented, and from all came papers on the questions submitted. Published in pamphlet form, they give us a complete description of the character and organization of the bar of the world. Three questions, subdivided into eight, were selected from the original number as the object of discussion before the Congress. They were: *a*) professional institutions due to the private initiative of the bar; *b*) professional instruction of the lawyer; *c*) international relations of the bar and of lawyers.

The discussions were full of interest. That of M. Jaspar on the philanthropic rôle of the younger members of the Brussels bar in serving the interests of the needy, of children, of released criminals and vagabonds, was particularly remarkable. The discussion of the training of the lawyer, and the comparative examination of methods followed in England and on the continent were also full of interest.

At the final session M. Picard made a splendid resumé of the work of the Congress, in which he gave beautiful expression to his ideas on the social mission of the lawyer.

Needless to say, well-turned phrases, whose contents were not always unmixed with satire, abounded; as, for instance, the following from a lawyer of Moscow: "Votre Palais de justice est immense, mais les dimensions n'en sont pas exagerées lorsq' on songe aux nombreuses illustrations qu'il abrite." The report of the Congress makes a neat volume of 281 pages.

34. Fourth National Italian Juridical Congress, Naples, October 14. This Congress has considerable importance even for social questions, it having given much attention to the contract between employer and laborer.

35. Congress of the Press, Stockholm, July. Our only source of information is the series of letters by M. de Haulleville in the *Journal de Bruxelles*. We have no doubt, however, that the question of responsibility of the press received attention, it being as actual in Europe as in America; witness, for example, the investigation carried on by the *Revue Bleu*, December 4, 11, 18, 25, 1897, and January 1, 8, 15, 22, 1898. Interesting articles may be found also in the *Arena*, February, 1898, and *The Interior*, of Chicago (in *Literary Digest*, March, 1898.)

36. Second International Congress of Publishers, Brussels, in June.

37. Fourth International Congress of Architects, Brussels, August 28 to September 5. The chief topics discussed were professional teaching, method to be adopted, the diploma to be conferred, and means to be used to secure to artists property rights in their work.

38. International Congress of Pharmacists, Brussels, begun August 16.

39. International Conference on Medical Service and Hygiene of Railroads and Navigation, Brussels, begun September 6. Economic, moral and religious questions, no less than those that were technical, were discussed. The report has not yet appeared.

40. Congress of Diamond Workers, Brussels, in September. The chief discussions were on apprenticeship and international organization.

41. National Congress of Belgian Miners, in September.

F. Congresses on Arbitration and International Law.

42. Eighth Interparliamentary Conference on Arbitration, Brussels, August 7–11. The Interparliamentary Union was founded ten or twelve years ago. It has about 2,000 members, actual or former members of legislative bodies of the various countries. At the opening of this conference the presi-

dent, M. Beernaert, remarked with pleasure, "la presence pour la premiere fois des collègues de la grand république de l'Amerique du Nord."

There were two principal questions discussed—the establishment of a permanent court of international arbitration and permanent treaties of arbitration. At the suggestion of the German group of the Conference it was resolved to take energetic steps in cases of threatened war to prevent the publication of false sensational reports, and to give to the public the actual happenings truly and impartially. The report makes a volume of 130 pages.

43. CONFERENCE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, Copenhagen, August 26. The Institute of International Law, aiming at collective scientific action as distinct from individual and diplomatic activity, was founded by M. Rollin-Jacquemyns, then editor of the *Revue de droit international et de législation comparée.* It is composed of members and associates, the number of each being limited to sixty. The number of members from any one State may not exceed a fifth of the whole. Honorary members are also admitted, there being, however, but five such at present, MM. Calvo, de Courcel, Robert Hart, Lambremont, d'Olivecrono. The Institute meets annually, its sessions having been begun in Ghent in 1873. The following questions were discussed at the meeting in Copenhagen : *a*) determination of the status of foreign public corporations (State, province, city, etc.) ; *b*) emigration viewed from the standpoint of international law ; *c*) legal status of ships, etc., in foreign ports.

Interesting articles on the Institute and its last session may be found in *Séances et Travaux de l'Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, January, 1898, by M. A. Desjardins, and *Revista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali*, October, 1897, by Professor Olivi.

This brief objective account of the Congresses held in Europe in 1897 may be of some service in showing the trend of thought and the practical efforts of thinkers along religious, social, and scientific lines. It may also serve as an incentive to a more thorough study of methods in the work of Congresses.

A word in conclusion on delegating and voting. When institutions, colleges, or universities hold congresses they are best represented by delegates; or when such a body wishes to be represented formally at a Congress, or wishes to insure to one of its members in attendance, some particular courtesy, this purpose is best attained by formal delegation. Then, too, in case resolutions are to be taken which will have some particular binding force, the sending of delegates is probably the best method which can be adopted. These cases excepted, delegation seems to be out of place, for a member of a scientific Congress is measured by his own merit, reputation, or actual contributions to the work of the Congress. At one of the Brussels Congresses a member ventured to remark that he, as delegate, represented a large number of associations. The president observed with justice, apropos of the statement, that members represent rather, science and public opinion.

As to voting. When positive resolutions are to be taken a vote is reasonable, but in questions of pure opinion it is not only not necessary, but is even unwise. It was well remarked at the Congress of Lawyers in Brussels that a vote seldom expresses the opinion of the entire assembly; it gives rise to misunderstandings and rivalry, divides the members into groups, who inevitably fall into the habit of voting one way. On the contrary, discussion without the prospect of vote and victory, eliminates the disturbing element of self-seeking and makes possible, a calm and clear view of the currents of opinion represented.

THOMAS BOUQUILLON.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SCRIPTURE.

Examen Critique de l'Histoire du Sanctuaire de l'Arche. Dissertation présentée a la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université de Louvain pour l'obtention du Grade de Docteur par H. A. Poels, Licencié en Theologie. Tome premier, pp. 436. E. J. Brill, Leyden, 1897.

In 1894 Abbé H. A. Poels, then a candidate for the Licentiate of Theology at the University of Louvain, published a dissertation entitled "Le Sanctuaire de Kirjath-Jearim." Though it was a monograph of very limited size it attracted not a little notice by the novelty of its thesis and the critical acumen shown by the author. The volume which we are reviewing was written for the doctorate, and is a development and improvement of the previous essay. It is the first of two which will treat comprehensively and exhaustively the question of Israelitic unity of sanctuary in post-Mosaic times.

The problem of unity of sanctuary is a pivotal one in the Pentateuchal controversy. Indeed it is the starting-point and foundation of the dominant Grafian system of Old Testament criticism. The leading exponent of the Grafian school, Wellhausen, acknowledged to M. Poels that "if the Grafian system can ever be overthrown the attack must commence at the point where you have begun." The sanctuary question is so vital for the Grafians because they deduce from the apparent multiplicity of approved altars in the periods of the Judges, Samuel, Saul, and the greater part of the kings, that a law prescribing centralization of worship was then unknown, nonexistent, and never introduced until the reign of Josiah, when the pretended discovery, but real forgery, of an old code—the Deuteronomic—urged that king to a radical reform and unilocation of public cult. Hence, say the advocates of the prevalent view, the so-called Mosaic codes, instead of being ancient and primitive, are of late date and authorship.

The author of the "Examen Critique" undertakes to establish the historical reality of a sole, legal, national holy place from the earliest times in Israel; in other words, to

show that the official sanctuary of the ark was unique and exclusive in fact as in the Law. The volume is divided into two sections. The first treats of the sanctuary of Shiloh ; the second, that of "Kirjath-Jearim." The whole embraces the time from Joshua to Solomon, exclusive.

In the first place the author maintains that Bethel and Ham-Mispah, which appear as sanctuaries in the story of the confederate war against Benjamin, Judges XIX–XXI, are really identical with Shiloh ; Beth-el, "the house of God," being not the city, but a common name for the central shrine, and Ham-Mispah, "the elevation," being also a common appellation for the ark-sanctuary. In succeeding chapters Dr. Poels answers the objections to his thesis arising from the sacrifices at Dan, Shechem, Aphra, and Bochim, and considering the hardness of the task, does remarkably well. It needs the striking out of Jud., II, 1^{b}-5 as interpolated, to make the worship at Bochim the result, not of a theophany, but of the presence of the camp and ark of the Israelites. And here we have an illustration of the point in which the book is, if not vulnerable, at least incomplete. The interpolator, or whoever wrote Jud. II, 1^{b}-5, states that the Israelites sacrificed after the apparition of the chiding angel. The patriarchs built altars where they had been favored by visions or celestial communications. Gideon made an oblation in obedience to the command of the angel of the Lord, which appeared to him at Ophrah. David also raised an altar and sacrificed burnt-offerings on the threshing-floor of Araunah, where the destroying angel halted—the site of the future Temple (II Sam., 24, 25). All these instances show that there was in the mind of at least some Israelites a conviction that worship on the spot where a messenger from God appeared was the natural sequel to such a theophany. If this be true, then permanent worship at the same places would be merely a development of these sacrifices, and sanctuaries at Shechem, Bethel, Hebron and Bersheba, not at all surprising. Unless this difficulty is cleared up—perhaps the author will do so in the ensuing volumes—there will remain in the minds of Old Testament students a strong suspicion that the localities named were actually the seat of worshipping-places, and that Dr. Poel's explanations

concerning Bochim, Shechem, Bethel, and Hebron are more ingenious than conclusive.

It is especially in the section on the "Sanctuary of Kirjath-Jearim" that this scholar shows his greatest originality and penetration. The burden of this part is that the resting place of the ark at Qiryath-Yearîm, the tama of Gibeon, the high-place of Gibeath-Saul, Nob, Ham-Mispah and Hag-Gilgal, instead of being separate holy-places or different resting-spots of the ark, are one and the same permanent ark-sanctuary under a variety of names. A startling and at first blush very unlikely proposition. It not only contravenes the hitherto almost unanimous opinion of exegetes of opposing schools, viz., that these names represent distinct localities, but it also comes in contact with prevailing topographical identifications. M. Poels brings to his task trained critical powers of an exceptional order and the tireless, patient industry of Teutonic scholarship, which exploits every serviceable detail, ransacking libraries and taking great pains in order to gain a little additional light or strength for an argument.

Dr. Poels is often happy in his exegesis. He takes texts which have been used as proofs by scholars of an opposite view, but in which his keen eye has detected quite a different sense. He brings out an idea that was overlooked or slurred, or he puts an obscure word or detail into correlation with another text or passage. The effect is that of a brilliant exegetical stroke; it comes to you with a sense of surprise that the meaning he draws is the more probable or the only tenable one; and the tables are turned upon the opposition.

The work is thoroughly critical and scientific in method. The author strikes a true and forcible note when he says that no one can be a real and self-convinced apologist who is not a critic. Dr. Poels passes everything through the critical crucible. He takes nothing at second hand, but tests and weighs not only commonly-received interpretations but also the purity of the text, and the assertions of the specialists in Palestinian geography. The statements of experts are worth to him only the value of their reasons.

Has the author proved his proposition that there was but a single official sanctuary in ancient Israel? No separate one of

the *momenta* of his argument is conclusive, and fault may be found with many of them, yet the resultant of all combined is formidable and impressive. In future his ideas cannot be ignored by exegetes and critics who touch this cardinal question. The young disputant has well earned his spurs. He has given to Wellhausen and his following one of the hardest blows they have received, and in doing so has admirably followed the counsel of Leo XIII, and turned against his adversaries of the rationalistic school their own arms and ammunition—the science and method of criticism. Dr. Poels admits in the latter part of his book that the local altars for the slaughter of cattle may have become real sanctuaries of an inferior and unofficial order on the occasion of local feasts, and that this usage might have been tolerated by the Law. The treatment of this point is within the scope of the second volume. In view of this admission the author cannot as yet consistently claim as a corollary of his work that it refutes the postexilic theory of the composition of the Priestly Code, which is so exclusive and implies so strict a centralization of sacrifice. But what M. Poels has really done is to have shaken the foundations of the hypothesis of the Josian origin of the Deuteronomic Code.

In style M. Poels is plain and concise, and has the French lucidity. The "Examen Critique" is a notable example of the advanced Catholic scholarship of our day; well-informed in the latest results and researches, discarding antiquated ideas and methods and recognizing whatever is true or probable in modern science, especially in the results of higher and textual criticism. It must be confessed that if progressive Catholic apologists are able to turn the methods and minor conclusions of rationalistic criticism against its major ones, they owe their schooling to the critics. It is not to our glory that we have had to learn much from the unorthodox Kuenens and Wellhausens. The scholarship of the Church should in the language of the Sovereign Pontiff "lead, not follow." But the signs are thickening that there is a great revival of Catholic interest in Scriptural science. Such works as that of Dr. Poels are happy indexes of a new era. Non-Catholic writers are commencing to recognize the movement and recent members of the *Literaturblatt* of Leipsic had words of praise from Professor

Edward Koenig for some recent solid achievements of German Catholic exegetes. The new Catholic Biblical scholarship will modify some old prejudices and opinions. It will make some concessions to claims of secular science, which at first sight may seem alarming. Dr. Poels accepts a number of ideas which the older schools rejected with more or less convinced intolerance. He admits the documentary analysis of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and I. Samuel, which is generally accepted by non-Catholic Biblicists. He concedes that the human authors generalized and idealized history, and that textual alterations were frequent and in some books considerable. But though the new Catholic scholarship may in its eagerness and swing here and there push a little too far, the sum total of its labors will be, while making us look at the Bible in a different way from the old, to build a synthesis that will strengthen our faith in the written Word, and make the supernatural emerge from the test more impregnable and triumphant than ever.

Einleitung in das Neue Testament, von Prof. Dr. Franz Sales Trenkle. Freiburg: Herder, 1897, 8°, pp. 486.

This work is intended as a text-book for theological students in their seminary course and for the use of the clergy and the educated laity in general. Accordingly, it confines itself to the consideration of such subjects as properly belong to Biblical Introduction. After a few short preliminary chapters on the history of this science, the author divides his work into two books, the first of which is a special introduction to the several books of the New Testament, while the second, which is general, treats of the New Testament as a whole.

In the first book the author discusses, one by one, the twenty-seven books of the New Testament and gives his conclusions as to their authorship, their date and place of composition, the scope of each, an analysis of their contents, and the peculiarities of each book; after which he answers the objections raised against his positions. In all this the author follows the chronological order, which is a great advantage to all concerned; for, in handling the books of the New Testament, it facilitates matters very considerably to follow the

order in which the books were originally written, and not the order in which they happen to be found in the printed editions of the Bible. Accordingly Dr. Trenkle begins with the Pauline Epistles, and, among these, with the Epistles to the Thessalonians, which, in point of composition, precede all the other books of the New Testament. Then follow the Acts of the Apostles, the Apocalypse, the Gospel of St. John, and finally the Catholic Epistles. The question of Inspiration is not yet considered, because the human authority of the sacred books should be determined before entering upon the inquiry concerning their divine origin.

The author has given us as complete a work as could well be expected in a text-book intended chiefly for students, for he has compressed a vast amount of useful materials into comparatively narrow limits. The work consists of one large octavo volume, of 486 closely printed pages, contains a full "Table of Contents," and, at the end of the volume, a complete "Register" of all the names of persons, places, and things mentioned in the course of the work.

The treatment of some of the subjects is particularly good. The "Synoptic Problem," for instance, is set forth in so lucid a manner as to be easily understood by the beginner, and, at the same time, so exhaustively as to be of service to the more advanced reader. But it is especially on the problems connected with the Gospel of St. John that the author is at his best. The authorship of this Gospel, which is one of the most mooted questions in the higher criticism of the New Testament, Dr. Trenkle discusses with all fairness and much thoroughness. While admitting the difficulties (and he states them fairly) against the Johannine authorship, he contends that there are by far greater difficulties to contend with in the supposition that, not the beloved disciple St. John, but an anonymous writer of the second century, was the author of this Gospel.

General Introduction to the New Testament is divided into two principal treatises, in each of which the author treats the New Testament as a whole. In the first treatise Dr. Trenkle gives to the History of the Canon of the New Testament an amount of space proportionate to the relative importance of the subject. Traces of the existence of a Canon or

collection of New Testament books he follows up in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers and Apologists, and in the works of the early heretics. This is followed by an unusually interesting chapter on the Apocryphal Gospels, the Apocryphal Acts, the Apocryphal Epistles and the Apocryphal Apocalypses of the New Testament, such as "Didaché of the Apostles," the "Preaching of Peter," the "Peregrinations of Paul and Thecla," the "Acts of Peter and Paul," etc.

In the "History of the Text and Versions," Dr. Trenkle explains the elements of palæography, exhibits the form and external appearance of books in the days of the Apostles, and tells us of what materials they were made. He also acknowledges that liberties were sometimes taken with the text by copyists while in the act of transcribing the manuscripts or codices, and discusses the necessity that soon arose of discovering some means of detecting and correcting such false readings as had crept into the text through the carelessness or malice of transcribers. He then describes the form of the codices of the sacred books, the division of the books into chapters, the subdivision of the chapters into *pericopæ* and then into verses, as well as the time when and the persons by whom all such changes were introduced. He next describes the most important manuscripts of the Greek New Testament, such as the Vatican, the Sinaitic, the Alexandrine, and others. He shows how useful to the textual critic are such ancient versions as the Latin Vulgate and the Syriac, which are witnesses to the condition of the best Greek manuscripts at the time that these versions were made.

The author is naturally, and, for a Catholic, very properly, exhaustive in his treatment of the Latin Vulgate, the history of which he gives quite fully. He also discusses the meaning and the value of the decree of the Council of Trent declaring the Vulgate authentic, and points out in what sense the Vulgate is authentic and in what sense it is not authentic. The history of the transmission of the Greek text, especially of the "textus receptus," and of the principal modern critical editions of the New Testament is also given with sufficient detail and far more fully than is done in most manuals of introduction.

Dr. Trenkle is painstaking and exhaustive in all his writings; an instance is his Commentary on the Epistle of St. James. Nor can it be said that in his latest effort an unfinished work has left his hands. He has consulted the sacred books themselves, and, after a close and careful examination of their contents, covering a period of many years, he has given us in this Introduction the results of his personal researches. He has kept himself thoroughly abreast of the times, and, by means of copious references and an unusual abundance of footnotes, he makes it possible for the student to study on indefinitely, and finally to place himself on a level with the foremost scholarship of the day.

Commentarius Theodori Mopsuesteni in evangelium D. Johanni sin libros vii partitus. Versio Syriaca juxta codicem Parisiensem cccviii edita studio et labore Johannis Baptistae Chabot, S. Theol. Doct. Tomus i, textus Syriacus. Parisiis, apud Ernestum Leroux via dicta Bonaparte No. 28, 1897, 1 vol. (pp. viii–412) 8°. $4.00.

We cannot yet review this volume as the importance of the subject demands. We must wait for the publication of the second volume, which will contain, besides a Latin translation by a priest of Warsaw, the preface by the editor and the variant readings from the sole other copy of that work extant in Europe. This second volume is in press, and will soon make its appearance. However, we may at once call the attention of our readers to the interest that attaches to the publication of the works of the famous Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia. Every one knows that he was no less remarkable for his ascetic virtues than for his vast learning and prodigious literary activity, and also that he was really the originator of Nestorianism. Not only was it from Theodore that Nestorius received the doctrine to which he attached his name, but when, thanks to the energy of St. Cyril of Alexandria, the heresiarch was formally silenced, it was through the Syriac translations of the works of Theodore, that his followers spread their tenets among the Eastern Churches, a fact that brought about, justly though rather too late, the condemnation of the memory and works of Theodore (553). Once condemned those works rapidly disap-

peared in the original Greek; so that we have nothing but fragments of them, some of them very short—mere quotations—others longer but often visibly condensed when not unintelligently expurgated. They are mostly taken from the Catenae Patrum, hence their fragmentary and disjointed condition. The reader will find them collected in the Greek Patrology of Migne, vol. LXVI, Cols. 123–1019. As for the Syriac translations, which were the work of the untiring school of the Persians at Edessa, they must long have been exceedingly common in the Nestorian communities. Ebed-Jesu, in the latter part of the tenth century, was acquainted with no fewer than fifty volumes of them. They gradually became so very rare that until ten years ago none of the large European collections of Syriac manuscripts could boast of having one single complete treatise of Theodore. It is fortunate that the new acquisition of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris happens to be the commentary on the Gospel of St. John, which we otherwise know to have been at once the most widespread and the most famous of Theodore's exegetical works. We have to thank the Abbé Chabot, already well known to all interested in Syriac literature, for having so quickly put this important document within the reach of all those familiar with Syriac. We trust that the general public will not have to wait much longer for his promised Latin translation and introduction. When they appear, we shall seize the occasion to discuss the life and career of one of the most extraordinary men of the early Christian Church.

Harmony of the Gospels, by Rev. Joseph Bruneau, SS., Professor of Sacred Scripture at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie (New York), with the approbation of the Most Rev. Michael-Augustine Corrigan, Archbishop of New York. The Cathedral Library Association, New York, 1898, pp. 144, 8°.

This is an attempt to classify the facts and discourses of Our Lord's life in a chronological order, according to the English Douay version of the Latin Vulgate. The author aimed at producing a book both useful and practical, as well for the literary study of Christ's words and discourses as for the his-

torical study of His life. A simple but well-arranged table of contents permits the reader to follow with ease, through 211 subjects, the harmonious exposition of the common gospel narrative, arranged according to Birth, Childhood, and Public Life of Jesus—the latter divisions being again subdivided according to years. In numerous footnotes Fr. Bruneau has condensed a great deal of apposite instruction and guidance. He is especially to be praised for bringing forward the newer school of Catholic writers on Scripture, such as Loisy, Lagrange, Azibert, Semeria, and Savi. Very useful notes are also appended from the works of Le Hir, Fillion, Vigouroux, Le Camus, Fouard, and Martin. Nor has he neglected to remind his readers of the most useful contributions of Protestant learning to the various difficulties that he meets on his way. The type, though small, is exceedingly clear and sharp. and the little volume is gotten up in a way to please all students.

Six Lecons Sur les Evangiles par M. l'abbé Pierre Batiffol. Paris: Lecoffre, 1897, pp. 133, 8°.

In the spring of 1897 the Catholic University of Paris opened its doors to a higher teaching for women (l'enseignement supérieur des jeunes filles). The abbé Batiffol was charged with the courses in early church history, and the present volume represents his teaching on the Christian gospels, which are the earliest and the most authentic sources for the history of the Christian society. In the gospels the joyous news of an Emmanuel was first made known, the long expectancy of Israel was satiated, the light arose before the eyes of multitudinous nations groping in moral darkness. More than any other records of that century the gospels bear the ear-marks of historicity,—hence about them, as about an Alamo of defence, has always raged the adverse and extreme criticism of the opponents of Christianity. Until this position is secured, no logical or scientific use of later records can be had, however important, full, and primitive. They draw from the reservoirs of the gospels, they know no earlier traditions, and expound a Christianity identical with that of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. M. Batiffol did well, therefore, when he turned

his facile pen to an exposé of what the most solid and trustworthy criticism tells us concerning these four brief narratives of the Coming, the Life, and the Death of Jesus Christ. The lessons treat of the gospel preached by a Jew to Jews (Matthew), by a Greek to Greeks (Luke), by a Romanized tongue to Latins (Mark), by a sublime mystic to the élite of the Christian society, and to all souls athirst for the spiritual and celestial (John). The gospel of St. Paul, in the Acts and the Epistles, also outlined with succinctness. The treatment of the delicate critical questions that swarm along this path is pious and didactic, as becomes a priest, but it betrays also an acquaintance with the studies and the gains of the moderns,—gains that fall, in the end, into the treasury of the Church, and which need, therefore, to be carefully noted and registered by her savants. With much tact the writer has emphasized certain special interests of woman, as they occur in the narratives of Our Lord's life. This little volume ought to be translated, given the penury of similar works for English-speaking Catholics. The sixth lesson, on the Gospel of St. John, is quite a chef d'œuvre of feeling and discernment, possible only to a sacerdotal soul, and in a language become like crystal in the shaping hands of a hundred writers of genius.

A General and Critical Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scripture, by Rev. A. E. Breen, D. D., Rochester, N. Y., 1897, 4°.

The increased activity recently displayed in the study of the Holy Scriptures is encouraging for the future. The Encyclical "Providentissimus Deus" has produced gratifying results in calling forth many learned dissertations marked by a more scientific discussion of mooted questions. Catholics, to whom the Holy Father primarily addressed this Encyclical, have felt the significance of his words and set to work with renewed energy for the purpose of obtaining a better grasp, a clearer understanding, and a nearer acquaintance with the word of God. Since the Bible, which is the inheritance of Catholics, can never fail to be of the highest concern to them, the solution of its perplexing problems demands their deepest study. There is no reason why Catholics should not be prepared to do battle for the truth in refuting whatever is erroneous in mod-

ern biblical criticism, and as well equipped as others to supply the ever-increasing demand for works abreast of recent scientific investigation.

Such, however, has not been the case in the recent past. Neither manuals nor technical treatises have covered all the ground that should be included in the curriculum of Biblical studies. We might instance in particular the great need of Introductions to Scripture. The few we have in English make no pretense to thoroughness. The difficulty and the delicacy of the task incumbent on the writer of an Introduction are apparent from the variety of topics that he must touch on, from the vast erudition that is presupposed, from the patient research needed in the accumulation of the materials from all sources of information, and from the judgment requisite to sift these materials. In fact the compilation of an exhaustive Introduction to Sacred Scripture is a task of such magnitude as to make the severest demands on all the resources of the most versatile scholar.

The work of Dr. Breen shows several signs of a hasty compilation. A volume so vast as is this might well be the work almost of a lifetime ; yet it was published in about four years after the ordination of the author. The contents of such a book need frequent and minute revision. The data should be so familiar to him that he may be able to detect the slightest flaw and to supply the most minim detail. Whatever will not bear the closest scrutiny should be suppressd.

We observe in the work a lack of symmetry, a disproportionateness of treatment. For, while only thirty-six pages are devoted to the discussion and elucidation of the very important question of Inspiration, about three hundred and forty pages are given up to the history of the Canon of Scripture. This distended treatment of the Canon results in part from the introduction of bits of information irrelevant to the subject. If obliged to make a choice, we would prefer to have a more extended discussion on Inspiration than to have the moral reflections on the manner and the motives of papal elections found at the foot of page 552.

The author's style is sometimes open to criticism. It is not always clear and simple, even on subjects which could easily

be expressed in simple language. The phraseology is sometimes heavy and sometimes intricate, whereby the gist of the argument is lost and the sequence of ideas obscured.

The introduction of questions of no particular value and of little bearing on the main point under discussion may be set down as defects in a scientific treatment of Scripture. As such we might quote the "Language of Adam," or the "Confusion of Tongues."

We have pointed out some, not all, of the shortcomings of Dr. Breen's work. But it would be unfair not to call attention to its good features. The author deserves praise and encouragement for his earnest effort to bring within the reach of beginners some of the conclusions of recent biblical scholars. In this Introduction he furnishes the student with much of the equipment necessary for the proper understanding of the Bible and for a profounder study of the sources of information on the subject. Every contribution to literature that serves to bring the student more in touch with the modern biblical movement merits recognition. It is undeniable that the author has gathered into this volume a greal deal of information that could not easily be found in the same accessible form in any work written by a Catholic in the English language. That the work is published in English reflects great credit on the good judgment of the author, and enhances very considerably its value, not so much to the hard-working clergyman, as to the lawyer, the physician, the journalist, the general litterateur, and to the educated laity whose occupations will not allow the time to work out a translation of some Latin work on similar subjects.

The book itself is well printed. It is attractive, solidly bound, and, typographically, is very handsome. The large margin left for notes is an innovation which the student will appreciate.

The Science of the Bible, by Rev. Martin S. Brennan, A. M. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1898, pp. 390, 8°. $1.25.

We learn from the preface of this work that its aim is "to give an honest presentation of the branches of science touched upon in the Sacred Scriptures as compared with the same

branches studied from a purely natural or secular standpoint." These sciences are, principally, Astronomy, Optics, Geology, Biology, and Anthropology. The author writes in a fair and impartial spirit, and cannot be said to belong to the extreme wing of Catholic apologetics, since he "recognizes the world as older than Usher makes it, and holds the theory of a partial deluge, because these views are legitimate interpretations of Genesis, and held by many of the greatest commentators, and are more in accord with the present teaching of science." The book is neatly gotten up and well printed.

THEOLOGY.

La Grace et la Gloire. Par J. B. Terrier, S. J. Lethielleux, Paris, 1897, 2 vols., 8°.

These two volumes, addressed especially to priests, are an elaboration of the idea of the supernatural from a positive as well as a speculative standpoint. The author presents an orderly treatise on the three chief points of Adoption, Justification, and Final Blessedness, reënforcing his considerations with many well-chosen references to the Fathers and the standard theologians. There is a wealth of illustration throughout, and the appendix in the several volumes are interesting pieces of research. The author has not neglected the devotional side of his subject, which he develops by profuse citations from Holy Writ.

The popularization of subjects—so abstruse in nature as the one with which the author has to deal—is no easy task. There is always the danger of sacrificing the matter to the manner by going out of one's way in the search for analogies and examples. This the author has carefully avoided, much to his credit. We would like to have seen as preface to the author's special topic a brief yet solid exposition of the notion of the supernatural order in general. It would not have considerably lengthened his treatise and would have added much to the force of what he has to say by clearing the mind for its reception. It would also have made more pointed, orderly and relevant the contents of Book XI, pp. 319–357. To plunge at once into the very heart of his subject without first making

good the underpinning on which the fabric is to rest, strikes us as a trifle artless. His exposition of the doctrine of grace, and, notably, of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, is clear, compact, and inspiring. He touches upon many knotty theological points and always says something pertinent and decisive. The entire work is so plentifully besprinkled with positive matter that the reader cannot fail to make the acquaintance of the best Catholic writers who have bequeathed us so much that is solid and entertaining on these subjects of subjects. These two volumes are recommended to priests, both for the value of the thoughts exposed and the ease and grace of the manner of exposition.

The Training of a Priest. (Our Seminaries.) An Essay on Clerical Training, by Rev. John Talbot Smith, LL. D. Second edition. New York: William H. Young & Co., 1897. 8°. pp. xii–327. $1.00.

According to the Catholic and historical conception of the Christian religion, the priest is the pivot of a huge religious organic system which embraces heaven and earth, the present and the future; which lays hold on man at every point and dictates his views, his acts, his duties, his ideals, his hopes; which is infallibly self-consistent and draws within its vast sweep the whole world of human activity. In this system the priest is the essential, indispensable element. He is not the organism, but he is its heart, its key, its driving-wheel. If he be withdrawn; if his energies be toned down, or decay; if his eye grow dim and his heart throb no longer with a mighty precision, then the immense society which is built on him exhibits at once every symptom of a false and irregular condition. No wonder, then, that the education of the priest has been the theme of a multitude of writers from the moment that the Christian Church came forth victorious from the conflict with the ethnic world. St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his incomparable "Apologia pro fuga sua," St. Jerome in his "Ad Nepotianum suum," St. John Chrysostom in his "De Sacerdotio," St. Gregory the Great in his "Regula Pastoralis," have left us as many gems of priestly pedagogics. After them a host of mediæval writers in every Christian land have left but

little to be drawn from the Scriptures, history, reason, the fitness of things, that may inculcate the priestly virtues and form those precious vessels which bear the mysteries of God in a hostile and malicious world. If Cardinal Manning had left us nothing beyond his golden book "The Eternal Priesthood," he had made us rich thereby, for it is in itself a school, where sympathy and piety, love and experience teach in turn, with sweet human mien and tone, and with words that drop like honey, and shine like points of fire. Our own Cardinal has found time in a busy life to write that excellent book, "The Ambassador of Christ," in which the priestly virtues and the motives thereto are treated in the calm, kindly spirit of a truly pastoral heart, and the duties and the dangers of the priestly life illustrated from the treasury of a varied experience with men and situations that has not left his heart cynical or filled him with ecclesiastical pyrrhonism.

Such a work as that of Dr. Smith deserves, therefore, no excuse. It is the highest theme that can engage the pen of a priest, and countless examples, as well as the nature of the subject and the enormity of the interests at stake, show that in this senate each member has the right and duty to utter the counsel that is in him. This Dr. Smith has done, with charity and moderation, but also with frankness and pointedness. Few of those who have been brought up in the conditions of which he writes will deny that his statements are apposite, and most of his criticisms and suggestions have long been current *inter domesticos parietes*. One may dissent here and there from the formula of a judgment, or the exact utility of a suggested remedy, it will remain true that the book represents a condition, voices the common judgment, and suggests betterments long desired. And this is no light praise, for, given the intensity of interest which our country, more than ever before, is awakening in Europe, whatever touches on the general condition of the American Catholic Church is sure to be read abroad with the keenest interest.

There is but one defect, in the writer's opinion, large and important enough to need criticism. It is the omission of any reference to the higher education of the priest, the need of a broader, more varied, more profound, more elegant culture

than he can hope to receive in the seminaries. Individuals may gain it by personal endeavor, by travel, by contact—it will always be a chance, and at the best an uneven, mental culture that is thus acquired.

"Vitae non scholae vivimus" some one will say, transposing a word of Seneca. Nevertheless, it remains true that all superior training must usually be acquired by system, in organized and equipped schools, among libraries, appliances, and, above all, under trained teachers, living ad hoc, and free from other cares, in order that they may form at least a certain percentage of ecclesiastics to be foremost in every department of knowledge wherein progress is made, or wherein ignorance or apathy could be reckoned as disgraceful to the Church. Dr. Smith recognizes this, of course. His whole book is an eloquent plea for the elevation of the character of the priest, mental and spiritual. The suggestion of a trained seminary faculty implies it. Yet such a faculty can best be trained in a university, indeed, can be satisfactorily trained nowhere else. There they may acquire an extensive and sure erudition, an exact method, a knowledge of original authorities, a wide view over the history of each ecclesiastical science, and that sensible toleration which follows the knowledge of honest errors and misapplied devotion. In the university they come in contact with professors and students of sciences they do not intend to cultivate, but, from personal contact, they learn the dignity and the office of these sciences; they learn not to overrate their own favorite studies, and that all the ecclesiastical sciences are patterns of a vast mosaic, facets of a great diamond, rays of one luminous body.

But it is not only the teachers in our seminaries who need the best training that may be had. True, none need it more, for what material passes through their hands? The characters of young Americans,—as a rule gifted and ardent, frank and affectionate, with the faith of a people as yet free from scandals long unremedied, and from the corroding cynicism that follows such conditions and lames all honest effort in a later time.

Nevertheless, the clergy in general, both diocesan and regular, need the opportunity and the advantage of a superior training. As to the latter, the Constitution issued in 1778 by

the prince-bishop of Münster, Franz von Fürstenberg, may yet be read with profit and edification.[1]

The former never needed, as now, the additional prestige that learning and personal refinement add to the divinely-given authority of the priest. We may not need the urbanity and the courtly graces of the learned French clergy of the court of Louis XIV, nor the extraordinary polemical powers of a Bellarmine, a Du Perron, or a Stapleton, nor the monumental erudition of a Mabillon or a Montfaucon. But we do need in every large diocese at least some whose lives are devoted to the ancient ecclesiastical ideals, and who shall be the nucleus of a clergy ready to shoulder the heavy responsibilities of the future. There is everything in the past to show that the clergy must lead the people,[2] but there is nothing in the past to show how great will be the demand upon the Catholic clergy in the mighty democracy that is now consolidating itself in the New World, which is assimilating its rather tumultuous immigration, and whose mental starting-point is the goal to which the Old World has struggled through endless vicissitudes. Already there are many who are concerned for that future, and who desire to see the love of all study the common inheritance of every priest.

It is this conviction, among other motives, which led to the establishment of a Catholic University at the heart of the nation: that there might be a home for the studious clergy, with provision of suitable libraries and appliances, and contact with the actual world of thought and endeavor, as it is shaping itself. It is meant to work in unison and harmony with the seminaries; to carry on the studies begun in those nurseries of piety and study; to provide men who shall in time bring back to the scenes of their first formation a wider knowledge, methods either new or happily restored, and a lively sense of the fact that the literary activity which to-day reigns in non-Catholic circles has for its object several sciences and themes that are essentially Catholic in their character and history, and in which we should again flourish as masters in our own house.

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[1] Bibliothek der Katholischen Pädagogik, Vol. IV, p. 220. "Was und wie die Mönche studieren sollen." Freiburg, Herder, 1891.

[2] Jer. XVIII, 18; Malachy II, 7; Matt. XXVIII, 19-20; John XV, 16.

PHILOSOPHY.

Institutiones Psychologicae. Pars II (Vol. III.) Tilmannus Pesch, S. J. Freiburg: Herder, 1898, pp. xviii–551.

Father Pesch divides his extensive work on Psychology into *Psychologia Physica* and *Psychologia Anthropologica.* The first deals with life and vital functions, especially the cognitive function in its various grades. The discussion of these subjects fills two volumes published respectively in 1896 and 1897. The third volume, which has just appeared, treats of anthropological psychology, *i. e.*, of those physical processes and conditions which are peculiar to man. This "human psychology," as it may be termed, comprises four general problems: the nature of intellection, the nature of volition and will, the passions and emotions, the existence and activity of the soul after death.

Here, as in the other portions of his treatise, Father Pesch adheres closely to the teaching of St. Thomas, adopting, whenever it is possible, the very language of the Angelic Doctor. At the same time, notice is taken of opposing views which have appeared in the historical development of mental science or are now in vogue among psychologists. As a result, the book abounds in lengthy quotations and references to the literature of the subject. If conflicting theories are not always examined in detail, the author's position is clearly stated in each thesis, and his presentation is orderly.

It is difficult, of course, even in a volume of this size, to treat fully every phase in the discussion of psychological problems and to answer at length every objection. This may explain the scant justice that is done to certain topics of prime importance. One could wish, *e. g.*, that the arguments of modern Determinism had been more thoroughly sifted, and that the emotional states had been more carefully analyzed. Attention, which is so closely related to the functions of intellect and will and around which so much empirical investigation centers, seems to have been overlooked in this volume, though it was briefly treated in the second volume under the heading of sense perception. In view also of the actual trend of psychology, the principles of mental development should

have at least been critically examined. Apart from such oversights, the treatise is certainly a good exposition of Scholastic doctrine. The reader will appreciate the helpful indices as well as the typographical work which, as usual, is a credit to the publishers.

The New Psychology. E. W. Scripture. London: Walter Scott; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889, pp. xxiv–500.

The author's aim is to do away with misconception and confusion and "to show just what the new psychology is." In the literal sense of the words, this would be a large undertaking; but the book does not attempt to cover the whole field of investigation; it is mainly a description of experimental methods and their results. The "New Psychology" is said to satisfy both the introspectionists, who "would maintain a true science of mind apart from physiology" and the psycho-physiologists, who "were animated with the desire for truly scientific work to replace the inaccuracy of the introspectionists": it is "a purely mental science, founded on careful experiment and exact measurement." So far as this foundation is concerned, Dr. Scripture's exposition is clear and thorough, especially in Part I, where, under the heading of "Methods," he deals with observation, statistics, measurement and experimenting. He claims, however, that there are no distinctly psychological methods of measurement. The "methods" so minutely described and discussed by other writers are "skillful adaptations of methods common to all the exact sciences." Parallel with this view is the arrangement of psychological data under three heads: Time (Part II), Energy (Part III), and Space (Part IV). While such a classification may serve the purposes of physical investigation, it does not satisfy the demands of a "purely mental science." Processes of mind reveal fundamental differences to which those three characteristics are secondary. A result of Scripture's division is that certain important subjects, such as attention and emotion, are scarcely noticed, while twice as many pages are devoted to the chapter on "Lifting Weights" as to that on "Feelings."

Notwithstanding these defects, the book will prove interesting to those who seek information concerning psychological experiment. Numerous illustrations explain the construction of apparatus and the results obtained. Part V, entitled "Past and Present," is an historical summary, pointing out the sources, development, and actual condition of the science. Eight appendices contain formulas and tables which will be of service to the student.

Outlines of Descriptive Psychology. George Trumbull Ladd. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898, pp. viii–421.

As the sub-title indicates, this is a "text-book of mental science for colleges and normal schools." It "aims to give a complete but summary treatment of the phenomena of human mental life, from the different points of view, and with all the method of research, which belong to modern psychology." This undertaking and its success will not surprise the student who is familiar with the larger works of Prof. Ladd. For beginners, the present volume is a good introduction. While the subjects and the order of treatment are almost the same as in the author's "Psychology Descriptive and Explanatory," the division is simpler. Part First discusses the "Processes of Mental Life;" Part Second, the "Development of Mental Life." The method employed throughout is empirical. The closing chapter deals briefly with the relations between body and mind, but the final solution is turned over to philosophy. Readers who look to the practical side of psychology will find useful suggestions on the education of the senses, memory, imagination and will. A brief bibliography at the end of each chapter serves as a guide to more extended study. The omission of long quotations and foot-notes, the sparing use of figures, and the printing of leading rubrics in bold-faced type, are features that adapt the book to its purpose.

Psychologic Foundations of Education. W. T. Harris. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1898, pp. xxxv–400.

In his "attempt to show the genesis of the higher faculties of the mind" Dr. Harris keeps in view the defects alike of the inventory-psychology which merely classifies, and of the indi-

vidualistic psychology which ignores the "principle of participation in spiritual life." Educational psychology "deals with all phases of the action and reaction of the mind by itself or in the presence of objects, by which the mind develops or unfolds, or is arrested or degenerates." In the study of the mind the one great central fact is self-activity; this is the keynote of the book.

Under the head of "Psychological Method" (Part I) are discussed the simple aspects of the principle of self-determination. The term "method" is here taken in a wide sense; for the discussion leads us far up into general philosophy. Plato's three stages of thought are regarded as "the most important discovery ever made in psychology." The ideas of time, space, and causality, which make experience possible, are treated from the Kantian standpoint. The logical structure of the intellect is extended to sense-perception, which uses different figures of the syllogism. Perhaps the most significant chapters in Part I are those in which the author maintains that a concept is not a mental picture, and defends at some length the freedom of the will as the acme of self-activity.

"Psychologic System" (Part II) is an exposition of organic and mental processes in the ascending scale of individuality and spontaneous energy. The idea of development naturally stands in the foreground, but the treatment is still philosophical rather than empirical. It is interesting to note an Aristotelean current of thought in this part, though it is not turned, as one might wish, upon the various problems of mental growth which psychology is just now investigating. At the same time, practical suggestions are given, especially in regard to the education of the feelings and of the memory.

Part III—"Psychologic Foundations," deals with "the institutions that educate." Society, the child's environment, the school curriculum, art and literature, science and philosophy, are examined and their psychological basis is determined. This portion of the work, while it accords with what precedes, is also in touch with actual conditions. As it sets forth the author's views on pedagogical subjects, it appeals directly to teachers. Throughout the work there are passages on God, freedom, and immortality which are spiritualistic in

tone and hold up lofty ideals to the educator. And though the theory of mental development is not entirely beyond criticism, its fundamental principle of self-activity gives it a decided advantage over other theories which assume the utter passivity of mind.

Vie du Cardinal Manning, par l'abbé H. Hemmer. Paris: Lethielleux, 1898, pp. lxxiii–494, 8°, with portrait.

This French life of Cardinal Manning, coming as it does after the life by Purcell, the volumes of Français de Pressensé, and the studies of Lemire, Hutton, and Father Gasquet, offers the reader an occasion of comparison and sober reflection, now that the literary agitation has subsided which followed the publication of Purcell's biography. The author tells us that he intended originally to translate the sketch of Cardinal Manning published by Canon Bellesheim (1892), but that the multitude of new documents that made their appearance in 1896 compelled a recasting of his task; hence its present shape, in which the work expresses the personal views of the author, though the basis of the narrative remains the sketch of Bellesheim. M. Hemmer belongs to a vigorous and ardent wing of the French clergy which sees the gravest danger to the Church in a policy of passivity, and to which men of the large and beneficent activity of Cardinal Manning are shining lights. They would see the priest interested in all the departments of human life. They would have him refuse to be shut up in his sacristy, with a few titles of honor, exercising only ornamental functions,—an official reader of the liturgy, like the pagan priests of Rome, but with no influence on the life and destinies of his native land. They remember that from Suger to Richelieu priests were the makers of France, and that the national character is so deeply impressed by this fact that Frenchmen continue to call themselves officially Roman Catholics long after they have abandoned the convictions that alone justify the name. After the manner of French books, written with a purpose, the volume contains a lengthy preface, in which the author expounds certain phases of the actual situation in France which he thinks might be bettered if there were more men like Manning, or if the principles and the conduct of Manning found more general imitators across the channel.

Il Razionalismo e la Ragione Storica, Saggio Apologetico, da Enrico Costanzi (Biblioteca del Clero, vol. ix), Siena, 1896, 3d ed., pp. 451, 8°.

Essays on the philosophy of history will always exercise a charm over thoughtful minds, especially over such as look upon the world and man in the light of historical Christianity. From this view-point there are to be found in history unity, consistency, progress, and a vast synthesis of knowledge and action. Outside of Christianity there is possible no science of history as such, no grouping of the common tendencies, experiences and ideals, which count for so much in the evolution of races and nations. The mind of man is the great shuttle of the loom of history. That mind has been but once made captive, and then by the absolute truth, *i. e.*, in Christ Jesus. The Christian mind sees the world of history revolving about two poles,—divine providence and the free will of man, and in the mutual reaction and interaction of these vast forces are to be sought all the secrets of human life, however highly organized.

This is the general thesis of the book of Signor Costanzi,—an examination of the office and effects of the Christian religion carried on in the light of certain indisputable facts,—the Fall of Man and the Redemption, the existence of evil, of free-will in man, of an immediate personal Providence, of a supernatural order, and the harmony between it and the natural. Incidentally, he treats some great historical phenomena illustrative of his position,—the vocation of Israel, the person of Jesus Christ, the spread of Christianity, the cosmopolitan function of the Eternal City, Christianity as a social factor, as the only satisfactory exponent of the truth concerning liberty, human rights, and social unity.

A brief exposé of the views of Herder, Hegel, Cousin, Guizot and others brings out the fact that the only reliable and efficient philosophy of history is that to be found in Orosius, in St. Augustine's City of God, in St. Thomas Aquinas, and in Bossuet. These doctrines, as developed by writers of genius like Cesare Balbo, Cesare Cantù, Auguste Nicolas, and Gioberti give to the book its specific character.

There is a certain vagueness about the work, a certain want of unity, owing perhaps to the fact that the material first appeared as disjointed essays. There is also considerable repetition of the same views, and a diffuseness of exposition that tends to weary the reader. Otherwise, it is a worthy contribution to ecclesiastical literature.

Patrologie, von Otto Bardenhewer, Doctor der Theologie und der Philosophie, Professor der Theologie au der Universität München, Freiburg, Herder, 1894, pp. x–635, 8°. $3.00.

The scope of this new manual of patrology is declared to be "a clear and succinct presentation of the actual state of the science." By the citation of a number of the best works of ancient patrologists and the most valuable contributions of modern scholars, the author hopes, not only to enrich the mind of the student, but also to incite him to personal research in the attractive field of the writings of those defenders, exponents, and chroniclers of Christianity who flourished well within the cycle of Greco-Roman influence. Their catalogue begins with the first commentators of the gospel, the first non-inspired writers of the Christian society, and ends with the decaying life and institutions of the Roman state in the West in the days of Gregory the Great. In other words, the subject-matter or theme of this work is the literary history of the Christian world during the first six centuries of its existence.

In an excellent introduction the idea and scope of patrology are defined, the history of the science outlined, and a conspectus is given of the systematic collections of patristic writings, as well as the comprehensive attempts at translations of them into vernacular languages like German and English. The literary history of the fathers themselves, and ecclesiastical writers, is divided into three parts that close respectively with the end of the third century, the middle of the fourth, and the end of the sixth. In each period the Greek writers are treated apart from the Latin, while in the second the Syriac Christian literature, and in the third the Armenian, are presented with brevity but with clearness and succinctness. For each writer there is a paragraph, or series of paragraphs, in which his life and writings are described with sobriety and compactness,

but without omitting anything essential. Other paragraphs, in smaller type, follow, in which the editions of the works described are enumerated, and a choice given of the best works on the writer in question. Of the ancient literature that which has stood the test of time or has some permanent value, is given, while the latest studies of modern critics, editors, or students, are quoted with no little generosity. Fullness and compactness have been sought for on every page, and it is safe to say that no manual of patrology contains more material for the student, or puts it in a more orderly and scientific manner than this. The last edition of Alzog's patrology (German) has a peculiar value of its own—every such book has when it passes through the alembic of a well-trained and appointed mind; the manual of Fessler-Jungmann (Latin) is indispensable to every student of theology, especially to beginners; the manual of Nirschl (German), quite extensive, gives an insight into the actual doctrines of the fathers on the principal elements of Christianity; the manual of Krüger represents non-Catholic science and interest, while that of Cruttwell is an attempt at conveying to English readers some notion of the personality and literary qualities of the men who expounded and defended Christianity while Homer and Virgil were yet the tutelary deities of the schools, and monotheism and ethnicism were struggling in that momentous duel in which the fundamental issue was the liberty of conscience, the right to worship God as the enlightened reason dictated, and not as the social authority provided. All these manuals or larger catechisms of early Christian literature have each its own character and usefulness, even as Möhler's unfinished Patrology retains yet, after half a century, its own charm and value, an orderly exposition of the material and a sure insight into the circumstances, internal and external, that conditioned the writings of the great fathers of the first three centuries. Would that this patrology of Bardenhewer were translated and offered to our studious clerical youth in suitable style and typographical dress! It would go far toward awakening a personal and living love of theology, instead of the professional and mechanical devotion that too often carries the theological student through the years of his training for the altar. This

is too easily dropped when he reaches a field of individual independent labor, where his pent-up activity may find free play, but where, alas! material pre-occupations, cares and distractions are so numerous, so attractive, so overwhelming that few minds resist their impact, and remain faithful to the high ideal of profound and elegant scholarship, "ut veritas pateat, placeat, moveat."

Why is it that in our seminaries the systematic teaching of patrology is so rare? Its more profound and more special development may be left to the University, but the modern student of theology is incapable of appreciating properly his text-books of Church doctrine unless he knows something about the origin and transmission of the evidences on which that doctrine is based. Catholic patrology has been making noteworthy advance within a generation, and it is high time that the fruits of these critical and positive labors should be made the common property of all ecclesiastics. In non-Catholic quarters the scientific advance in this science is only too remarkable. The names of Harnack and Lipsius and Lightfoot resound now in men's ears, as formerly did those of Mabillon and Ruinart and Montfaucon. We have, it is true, such names as Funk and Bardenhewer and Duchesne, such learned men as the Bollandists, and the Benedictines of Maredsous,—but we want something more. We need the establishment of a preliminary course of patrology in every theological seminary. For the present, the Latin manual of Fessler-Jungmann might serve as a basis or a text. The general interest now bestowed on the first centuries of Christian development no longer permits the young priest to be ignorant of the Christian literature of the times, even if it did not offer in itself one of the most consoling and instructive pages of ecclesiastical history. In conclusion, let the weighty opinions of two learned theologians, one an Anglican, the other a Catholic, be heard: "Ye who are devoting yourselves to the divine study of theology; ye who are growing pale over the Sacred Scriptures above all; ye who already occupy the venerable office of the priest, or aspire to do so; ye who are about to undertake the awful care of souls; put away from you the taste of the times; have nothing to do with the novelties that are in vogue; search

how it was in the beginning; go to the fountain-head; look to antiquity; return to the reverend Fathers; have respect unto the Primitive Church; that is, to use the words of the prophet I am handling; ask for the old paths (Jer. VI, 16).[1]

In the same strain speaks a learned Dominican of the sixteenth century: Viri omnes docti consentiunt, rudes omnino theologos esse, in quorum lucubrationibus historia muta est. Mihi quidem non theologi solum, sed nulli satis eruditi videntur, quibus res olim gestae ignotae sunt. Multa enim nobis e thesauris suis historia suppeditat, quibus si careamus, et in theologia et in quacumque ferme alia facultate inopes saepenumero et in docti reperiemur.[2]

Outlines of Jewish History, from Abraham to Our Lord, by the Rev. Francis Gigot, SS., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. John's Seminary, Boston. New York: Benziger, 1897; pp. 384, 8°. $1.50.

The author of this manual of Jewish history has prepared it "for the special use of theological students," as an introduction to the *scientific* study of Holy Writ, and a more accurate and thorough knowledge of the history of the Jews. For this purpose he tells us that he "has embodied concisely in this work the best ascertained results of modern criticism and recent explorations through Bible Lands, and has availed himself of every source of information to make Jewish history at once more intelligible and attractive." The apologetic uses of this study are also insisted on, and the sources of information are communicated to the student.

The work falls into three parts,—the Patriarchal, the Tribal, and the Royal Age,—which are treated in thirty chapters. By the use of strongly accentuated paragraphs and guide-words, the chief events, places and persons are brought out boldly. A synopsis follows each chapter, and a lengthy index renders the book serviceable. It has the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Boston, hence its doctrine may be taken as correct in important matters and its introduction recommended to colleges and seminaries. Indeed, it ought to be in the

[1] Bishop Pearson, Minor Theological Works, II, 6.
[2] Melchior Canus, De locis theologicis, XI, 2.

library of every family which loves to know something of the Bible, for this work may serve as an excellent historical commentary to its various books. The style is plain and sober, as befits such a book, and the author's erudition is set forth with a certain reserve called for by the character of his book, but which gives earnest of wider knowledge in store for commentary or digression.

We would like to suggest the insertion of maps in a future edition. As students cannot buy many books, such a manual ought to be a vade-mecum. Maps and plans of important monuments or sites would greatly enhance the value of the work. Moreover, the volume should be illustrated, so that the student would have some idea of the important antiquities of the Jews,—monuments that are part and parcel of their history and their institutions. The sources and references would be better off at the foot of each page, and in smaller type, than in the body of the text. It would be well also to introduce a select bibliography, under suitable rubrics, with a brief line or two of appreciation of each work cited. The student would then know something about the range of mental activity in this important science, and would have a reliable guide in the selection of a little library in case his tastes led him to follow up the impulses awakened by this useful introduction. With these additions the work of Father Gigot will be a permanent addition to the list of our theological manuals, all too small a list in the English tongue, a fact that is largely responsible for a certain lack of interest in theological science as compared with other nations.

A History of American Christianity, by Leonard Woolsey Bacon. New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1897, pp. 429, 8°.

It is surely no small task to put into less than five hundred pages the story of every organized form of Christianity on American soil within the last four centuries. This has been attempted by Dr. Bacon, and with considerable success,—he has even found place for brief comment and criticism as he unfolds this wonderful panorama of religious life, at every step so like and so unlike the story of Christianity in the Old

World. The introductory chapters deal with the original Catholic missions of Spain and France, from which the author passes to the description of the Puritans in Virginia, Religion in Maryland and the Carolinas, Dutch Calvinists and Swedish Lutherans, the Church in New England, The Middle Colonies and Georgia, the Great Awakening,—through Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield,—and the Close of the Colonial Era. The second half of the work is taken up with the history of Christianity in the United States during the present century, under the headings of Reconstruction, The Second Awakening, Organized Beneficence, Conflicts with Public Wrongs, A Decade of Controversies and Schisms, The Great Immigration, The Civil War, After the Civil War, The Church in Theology and Literature, and Tendencies toward a Manifestation of Unity.

Dr. Bacon is a learned and liberal Congregationalist, and in this book has justified the esteem in which he has been rightly held, for it gives evidence of a religious and conscientious spirit, and of a willingness to mete out its due to truth, even when it may be unpalatable to those of his own communism. We cannot expect him to assume the Roman Catholic view-point in controverted matters. But we can gladly acknowledge his very fair treatment of the Roman Catholic missions in Maryland, his acknowledgment of the personal devotion of Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, his sympathetic account of the sufferings of Roman Catholics in the Know-Nothing period. Dr. Bacon takes a lively interest in the internal development of American Catholicism, and while we would not like to subscribe to some of his judgments, we may call attention to the sobriety and the kindliness with which they are put forward and to the principle of citing responsible Roman Catholic authorities for his statements. We may differ profoundly on many points, but literary charity and courtesy can only tend to widen that mental commons on which we may one day meet in apostolic faith, hope, and love. *Faxit Deus!*

LITERATURE.

"Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern." Charles Dudley Warner, editor, assisted by Hamilton Wright Mabie, Lucia Gilbert Runkle and George H. Warner. In thirty volumes, quarto. New York: R. S. Peak and J. A. Hill, 1898.

The content of these thirty volumes, admirably printed, is veiled by a popular title; doubtless, as they are intended to appeal to English-speaking readers, this eye-catching title is excusable. But this enormous work is really an introduction to the comparative study of the literature of all languages translated into English. It has one great merit; it places within the reach of students specimens of the work of those writers that have influenced the epochs, and its influence is to stimulate the reader to researches on his own account. Primarily, it does not appeal to scholars, though it is largely the work of scholarly experts; it is intended to meet the demands of that large and constantly increasing class,—example of a transitional state of education,—which asks to be saved the time and trouble of collecting a library for itself or of reading many books. Judged from this point of view, the "Library of the World's Best Literature" is without a rival.

It is evident that a certain change of plan took place in the work after its reception. The intention, in the beginning, was plainly to secure as contributors those specialists whose reputation made them seem to be masters of any one subject in the world of letters, and to give them free hands. But, if this had been carried out, it would have meant that each volume should be consecrated to one man, epoch, or movement; for, in questions of history,—and biographical analyses of authors are essentially historical,—counter-opinion, as well as opinion, must be considered. Again, there is no dogma in the world of letters, except as regards the greatness of the very great; but there are canons drawn from the agreement of critics as to the causes of high quality. A man who disputes the place of Dante is amusing or absurd; but he who insists that May Louise Alcott deserves a tabouret in the presence of George Eliot and Miss Austen and in the absence of so many other sisters of letters puts his reputation in danger. The admirers

of Edme Champion may hold up their hands in horror at the selection of John Morley as an authority on Voltaire; but, were Joseph de Maistre alive, he would denounce the editor who would permit either Morley or Champion to find anything extenuating in Voltaire's attitude. There are three horns to this dilemma. Again, the selection of a Catholic specialist to write on St. Thomas Aquinas passes without question from anybody; the Angelic Doctor is looked on as the special property of Catholics; but, if a Catholic had been asked to interpret Calvin, there would have been the same kind of criticism that has met Professor Davidson's one-sided appreciation of Abelard. Nobody objects to R. H. Hutton's Newman, but, if Mr. Purcell had accepted an invitation to portray Manning, the air would have been shaken by outcries. In looking over these volumes, one feels that the editor was very brave or blissfully ignorant of the dangers before him. It is plain now that he trusted in the great mass of people who, recognizing so much good, would, as Chaucer begs his readers to do, be satisfied to pass over the things they esteemed evil; the popular success of the work shows that he did not trust in vain. The choosing of Canon Farrar for the article on the literary value of the Bible was a risky thing, for Canon Farrar is not grateful to the vast army of habitual readers of the King James version, but there can be no doubt that the Canon was selected with excellent intention, though the choice has brought Mr. Warner's volumes into disrepute with certain dissenters.

As the work proceeds, Mr. Warner grows more conservative. As he approaches the "Z's",—in which the fatal word Zola occurs,—he keeps his eyes wide open for the presentation of good ethics; and, when he really comes to Zola, he allows no modern literary tolerance of "frankness" or "naturalism" to bend him to the essential evil of the school of which that author is both the master and the sole obedient pupil. There are certain articles,—for instance, parts of the "D' Azeglio" paper, the "Notes on Erasmus," and other passages in the entire volumes that we would like to see revised, and which justly give offence; but there are very many other articles so complete, so incisive, sympathetic, and scholarly that we shall demand no instant tearing up of the tares lest some of the good wheat

might go with them. "The World's Best Literature" is, even as it stands,—ideal,—is the best manual for the study in English of comparative literature yet given to the general public.

New Rubáiyát, by Condé Benoist Pallen. B. Herder, St. Louis, 1898. 16mo., pp. 62.

Mr. Pallen offers in these verses an antidote to the epicurean quatrains of Omar Khayyám (d. 1123), the Persian poet whom Edward Fitzgerald has done into such elegant English. This mystico-pantheist is sometimes called the Voltaire of the Orient, and again it is said of him that there is a touch of Byron, Swinburne, and Schopenhauer in all that he writes. Certain it is that his brilliant epigrams are "the breviary of a radical freethinker who protests in the most forcible manner both against the narrowness, bigotry, and uncompromising austerity of the orthodox Ulemas and the eccentricity, hypocrisy, and wild ravings of advanced Súfis." Omar is a subtle and fascinating rhapsodist, whose "purity of diction, fine art, and crushing satire" have endowed with poetic immortality the five hundred epigrams in praise of wine, love, and all earthly joys that he found time to write in the intervals of relaxation from his favorite studies of mathematics and astronomy. He is pyrrhonist, epicurean, agnostic, a flaunter of all the dwellers

> "In this battered Caravanserai
> Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day."

To him nothing is sacred, permanent, or certain. All life is a multitudinous phantasmagoria, a hopeless flitting of shadows and seemings.

> Oh, come with old Khayyám, and leave the Wise
> To talk; one thing is certain, that Life flies;
> One thing is certain, and the Rest is lies;
> The Flower that once has blown for ever dies.
>
> Myself when young did eagerly frequent
> Doctor and Saint, and heard great Argument
> About it and about; but evermore
> Came out by the same Door as in I went.

Mr. Pallen embodies in similarly lilting verse the Christian doctrine of faith and hope, a sane and cheery optimism. More than once he has caught a spark of Omaresque fire and grace,

as in "the piping fife of change (p. 8), "the cryptic sweetness of the living vine" (p. 10), the "interstellar spaces ringing clear" (p. 35). As a rule the verse runs smooth and even,—only this lilting epigrammatic strophe is scarcely the medium for correct didactic views. In its irregular halting music there is something defiant and fierce that seems to challenge, a kind of outlaw's cry that sets fixed order at naught. Fitzgerald has dressed this fantastic Persian gipsy in an English garment no less bizarre and *bariolé* than its Iranian garb. He has given it cap and bells; henceforth it is unique in the procession of Merry-Andrews that moves across the stage of literature, worldly-wise at once and scurrilous, philosopher and charlatan, preacher and actor,—a finished pantamorph of satire, who invites all men to

> "Leave the Wise to wrangle, and with me
> The Quarrel of the Universe let be;
> And in some corner of the Hubbub coucht,
> Make Game of that which makes as much of Thee."

What a pity that the author of "The Wail and Warning of the Three Khalendeers" did not turn his mystic, dreamy genius to the paraphrasing of Omar!

This pretty and useful little volume is defaced by some bad misprints: "screed" for "creed" (p. 3), and "feetly" for "featly" (p. 6). The verses make excellent reading for that too numerous class of souls who are pessimistically minded.

Literature and the Church, by Rev. John F. Mullany, LL. D., with preface by Most Rev. William Henry Elder, D. D., Syracuse. N. Y.: Azarias Reading Circle, 1898. 16mo., pp. 95.

In a preparatory note, the author tells us that these lectures, delivered originally at the Second Session of the Winter School at New Orleans are meant to show that literature, no matter how powerful, can never become a substitute for religion. "Literature is an educator—and under certain conditions it may reflect religion—but it behooves us to guard against the delusion that any reflection of religion is religion itself." Elsewhere (p. 61) he quotes approvingly from Cardinal Newman: "Many a man will live and die upon a dogma; no man will be a martyr for a conclusion. This is why a literary

religion is so little to be depended upon; it looks well in fair weather; but its doctrines are opinions, and when called upon to suffer for them, it slips them between its folios, or burns them at its hearth."

From this point of view the writer treats briefly several of the poets, romancers, and literary philosophers of the last hundred years—Browning, Tennyson, Longfellow, George Eliot, Cardinal Newman, Comte, Spencer, Kant, Hegel, Tolstoi and Rousseau. In literary judgment and sympathy he shares the average views of impartial critics as to these famous names, but does not fail to judge them independently from the point of view of a Catholic and an ecclesiastic. He rightly believes that form can never make up for lack of substance, and that the soul which trusts its happiness to the beautiful in letters will one day necessarily learn the insufficiency thereof. Short essays on Christian Dogma, the Character of the Church, and the Church our Guide, complete the treatment of the subject. They furnish the reader with a succinct and pleasing view of the proper attitude of the Christian soul toward a literature that grows ever more perfect and varied, but also ever more seductive and tempting.

MISCELLANEOUS.

L'Americanismo politico e religioso, quale venne intes to dal P. Hecker. Discorso letto al Congresso internazionale dei dotti cattolici a Friburgo il 20 agosto, 1897 da Mons. D. J. O'Connell, Prelato domestico di S. Santità e già Rettore del Collegio Americano di Roma. Versione dall'inglese di Lorenzo Salazar-Sarsfield con prefazione di Alfredo Capece Minutolo di Bugnano. Napoli, 1898, pp. 20, 8°.

This discourse of Mgr. Denis O'Connell, delivered before the International Scientific Congress of Catholics, held at Friburg in Switzerland last August, has been making the tour of Europe. Already it has had the honor of a French translation, and now it appears in Italian, being thus made accessible to many millions of Catholics who are likely to be interested by its contents. The discourse contained little that was original, being actuated by the desire to bring before the Congress the po-

litico-religious situation of the United States, as it appeared to an eminent observer and laborer in the Catholic Church of that land. All minor points aside, what most contributes to the development of the American Church is its unhampered liberty. Thereby it grows; every domestic energy has an honest chance of development, there being no restraint nor curb from the social authority. On the contrary, the Catholic Church in most continental lands is suffering chiefly from lack of liberty, being bound in the toils of a suspicious imperialism that fears to shed blood, but yet slowly chokes its victim against the walls of its prison. As a fact, the Church in America is making undeniable progress. As a fact, the churches on the mainland of Europe profess themselves to be in a deplorable condition. Liberty is the atmosphere of any perfect society, and therefore it is the first, the only indispensable, prerequisite for the growth of the Christian idea. Christianity has adapted itself to many forms of political life with more or less ease. But it has always suffered a withering or a retrenchment of its powers for good where it was refused that easy and comfortable expansion which its nature and its history demand. The absence in the American Constitution of the blighting germ of Roman imperialism and a minimum of statolatry in our history cause our religious conditions to approximate, in some degree, to certain periods of the Middle Ages, when all the forces of the human intellect and all the energies of religion developed *pari passu*, and for a while the spirit of peace and concord was dominant throughout Europe. If the Church in Europe enjoyed the liberty of the Church in America what an *élan* of religious life there would be! With what eagerness the deceived and abused populations would again take up the truly progressive principles and lines of Catholicism! What a balance there would be against the narrow, destructive forces of selfishness and materialism! No wonder that the men of Europe are watching with eagerness the growth of those conditions which have permitted the establishment, within two generations, of a hundred dioceses, the building of innumerable churches, the flourishing of a hundred forms of corporate religious life, the acquisition of many hundred millions of property, subject only to such civil control or interference as the

ordinary citizen is subject to! If the Italian or the French Catholics had this real liberty can we doubt that these old historic churches would again rise to their opportunities and astonish mankind with their works of beneficence?

O'Connell. Panegyric by the Most Rev. John J. Keane, D. D., Archbishop of Damascus, in the Church of the Irish College, Rome, May 15, 1897, being the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the immortal Liberator. Dublin: O'Brien & Ards, 1897. 8°, pp. 31.

With characteristic unction and eloquence, Archbishop Keane put before his hearers, last May, a life-sketch of Daniel O'Connell, in which the great events of his life were made to give up the providential purposes of God in dealing with this chosen man. Though the peculiar character of the spoken words of the Archbishop is absent from these pages, yet they convey to the reader a fair notion of the purposes and plans of one who was truly a Moses to his people,—who led them out of religious bondage, taught them the meaning and the power of unity, and died, the typical and logical Irish Kelt, as he has been moulded by the influences of a secular Catholicism. The nineteenth century is fast waning, and many of its stars are already below the horizon. But O'Connell will long shine in the national and racial heaven, a bright particular orb. Even his legend, when it is woven, will make for justice, sobriety, peace, true manhood, just as his history sums up the pleadings and the strugglings of a hundred conquered and abused peoples.

A Glimpse of Organic Life, past and present, by William Seton, LL.D. New York: P. O'Shea, 1897; pp. 135, 8°.

This little volume is meant to interest youth in the great book of nature that lies outspread before the eyes of all. By means of a pleasing dialogue between a professor and his pupil it brings out the chief truths and facts of geology and zoology, accompanying them with explanations worthy of a serious and a Christian mind. Several illustrations, chiefly of the great extinct mammals, enliven the text. The spirit and scope of the work are made plain in the preface by a passage from Sir William Thompson's presidential address to the British Asso-

ciation (Edinburgh, 1871): "Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent design lie all around us, and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from these for a time, they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing to us through nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living beings depend upon one ever-acting Creator and Ruler." The little book deserves to be put into the hands of all children who are acquiring the rudiments of geology, zoology, or anthropology, for it contains the antidote to certain grave errors or hasty assumptions.

Socialistes Anglais. par Pierre Verhaegen. Gand, 1898, pp. 374.

This work is a dissertation for the doctorate presented to the School of Political and Social Sciences of the University of Louvain.

In the twelve chapters of the book, the author aims to give an objective description of the origin and actual condition of socialistic thought and movement in England among professed socialists, Christian socialists and trades unions. A considerable portion of the work is devoted to communism, anarchy, land nationalization and municipal socialism. The impressions of the author are summarized in a concluding chapter.

The work is based on original sources throughout. It shows the author to be well acquainted not only with the literature but also with the leaders in the movement described. The text is frequently made up from conversations between the writer and the socialist leaders. We know nothing else in French which contains a like amount of reliable information on the subject; hence we can cordially welcome the book as one of real value.

However, the impression grows, while we read, that there is a lack of lucidity in the exposition; it would seem that the author had not thoroughly mastered the rich abundance of material at his command. This is due perhaps in a large measure to the complex nature of the movement; so complex that it does not lend itself readily to an orderly exposition. The author wisely calls attention to this in his conclusion (p. 353): "Les divergences ou mieux l'antagonisme entre les diverses catégories des socialistes anglais sont tels, qu'on est tenté de

se demander si ce n' est pas en vain que l' on chercherait dans cette étude des points de repère qui en facilitent la conclusion. De fait, l'organisation complexe du movement socialiste anglais n'est pas de celles qu'on qualifie d'un mot: même nous ne croyons pas qu'on puisse découvrir une tendance générale dans les aspirations des divers groupes ou dans la marche qu'ils out suivie jusque'ici."

It is hardly true, as the author states (p. 301, note), that the theories of Henry George have lost all credit in the United States, though certainly they have not greatly affected the thought or the politics of the country. The death of George took place October 29, and not in Seprember, as is stated (p. 306).

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

FREDERICK WILLIAM PELLY.

Mr. Frederick W. Pelly, assistant professor of Roman Law and Political History in the University, died of pulmonary consumption on February 17, 1898, aged 44 years. Mr. Pelly was born in England, and came of good family, being nearly related to the late Canon Rawlinson, the historian, and to Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Assyriologist; to Sir John Henry Pelly, recently Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to Lieut.-Gen. Sir Lewis Pelly, of the East Indian Service. Mr. Pelly was educated at the University of Edinburgh and at Oxford, receiving from the latter his Baccalaureate degree. Soon after his graduation he took orders in the Anglican Church and was appointed Master of Chigwell School. He afterwards pursued his studies at Paris and in the University of Heidelberg. After a short service as curate in the vicinity of London, he removed to Canada and was engaged in the establishment of St. John's College at Qu'Appelle, Assinaboia. At the same time he was public examiner for the Northwest Territory, and, with the head of the Catholic Indian School in Manitoba for his co-worker, drew up the examination code on the dual basis. He was also a lecturer in the diocesan seminary of Manitoba. Returning to England he entered the employment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and labored as a missionary in various parts of the country, finally settling in the parish of Walter-Belchamp. Becoming involved in the great strikes of 1889, as an ardent advocate of the labor interest, his position in his parish was gradually rendered untenable, and he once more crossed the Atlantic, and after a few months was appointed rector of St. Andrew's Church in Greenville, Conn. Here the doubts which he had long entertained as to the soundness of the claims of the Anglican communion, culminated in a conviction of the truth of those of the Roman Church, and without hesitation, and at the cost of all this

world had given him or could offer him, he followed the dictates of his conscience and made his submission to the Catholic Church in February, 1896. Shortly after this event he was invited to the University, and until his death was engaged in conducting classes in Institutional History and Roman Law. Mr. Pelly was a man of extraordinary devotion to study and indefatigable in his efforts for his pupils. Even when unable to leave his home he carried on his work in his room, and but an hour or two before his decease was busied with the preparation of material for his students. He was a man of singular modesty and self-forgetfulness, of unassuming piety, and accepted alike his trials and his blessings as the gift of God. His widow, the daughter of Sir George Strong Nares, the famous Arctic explorer, and three children have decided to return to England.

The Rt. Rev. Rector.—The Catholic Winter School at New Orleans has finished its session for this year, and, from the numerous flattering accounts, has been more than usually successful. The newly appointed Archbishop, Most Rev. P. L. Chapelle, gave a great impetus to the movement by a remarkably powerful sermon at the opening ceremony, Sunday, January 20, and his constant and enthusiastic co-operation with the trustees contributed largely to their success. The Rt. Rev. Rector of the University, Mgr. Conaty, was a prominent figure at the School, having been invited to deliver five lectures on the subject of "Education." His topics were: "The Church in Education;" "The Demands of the Modern Spirit in Education"; "The Answer of the Church to the Modern Spirit;" "The Keltic Influence in English Literature;" "Catholic Women and Education." He also preached in St. Patrick's Church, Sunday, January 27, on "The Church and the University Movement." Large audiences greeted him, and on all sides manifestations of delight were heard as he eloquently portrayed the work of the Church in the educational movements. A very pleasant incident of his visit was the reception tendered to him by the admiral of the French warship Le Dubourdieu and the commander of the Austrian schoolship Donau, which were in the harbor. All the courtesies of the navy were

extended to him, and each ship gave him the naval salute of nine guns as he was leaving it. Mgr. Conaty experienced the full meaning of a generous Southern welcome at the hands of the people of New Orleans, and was delighted with his visit to the most interesting and important city of the South.

The Schools of Law.—The redistribution of the schools of the University, for the purpose of bringing under the direction of the Faculty of Philosophy all those departments whose courses of study lead to the degree of Ph. D., has also resulted in giving, for the first time, to the Faculty of Law a distinct existence, and has enabled that Faculty to realize the original design of maintaining separate Schools of Law for professional training and for higher legal education. This separation marks a great advance in the development of the University. The establishment of a School of Law for the education of jurists, as distinguished from practitioners, was in the minds of the founders of the University from the beginning, and the introduction of purely professional courses was determined on merely as a means to the full though gradual accomplishment of that design. The endowment of the chair of Roman Law, through the munificence of the late Patrick B. O'Brien, of New Orleans, and the present severance of other departments from those of the law, have given to the Faculty the power, much earlier than they had dared to hope, to complete their permanent organization, and inaugurate two independent schools—the Professional School of Law, and the University School of Law. Persons interested in the subject of legal education can obtain the circular presenting these features in detail by addressing the Dean of the Law Faculty.

University Club Reception.—The University Club gave a literary entertainment in honor of St. Thomas, on March 10th, in the Assembly Room, McMahon Hall. The chief feature was a paper on "St. Thomas and Dante," read by Rev. John Sullivan. He showed that the great poet of the Catholic Church drew much of his inspiration and all his philosophy from the writings of the Angel of the Schools. Dante's poetry is the allegory of human life, depicting the various stages of the soul's journey, through sin and conflict, back to God, its end and beatitude. In the allegory Inferno is the state of Sin,

Purgatory is Penance, Paradise is the state of Grace. There we have the grand conception which is the key to the Summa —*Reductio hominis in Deum principium et finem.* With all the wealth of his matchless imagination and exquisite beauty of language, Dante sets forth the principles and arguments which St. Thomas lays down with the severe accuracy of the theologian and philosopher. After the programme was finished the club received the guests in the General Library, which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion.

Public Lectures—Spring Course.—The following public lectures were delivered Thursdays at 4.30 P. M. in Assembly Hall:

January 37.—"How We See." Very Rev. E. A. Pace, D. D. February 3.—"Illusions of Sight." Very Rev. E. A. Pace, D.D. February 10.—"The Closet Drama." Maurice Francis Egan, Ph. D. February 17.—"The Acting Play." Maurice Francis Egan, Ph. D. February 24.—"George Washington." Hon. S. R. Mallory, United States Senator from Florida. March 3.—"Writing and Miniature in the Early Keltic MSS." Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D. March 10.—"Decorative Art in the Early Keltic Church." Very Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D. March 17.—"Two Centuries of Economic Progress." Charles P. Neill, Ph. D. March 24.—"Electrical Waves," Illustrated by Tesla, High Frequency Phenomena, Hertsian Waves, and Marconi Wireless Telegraphy. Daniel W. Shea, Ph. D.

Feast of St. Thomas.—The patronal feast of the Faculty of Philosophy was duly observed on March 7. Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the Rt. Rev. Alfred Curtis, assisted by the students of the Divinity School and of the affiliated colleges. The discourse was delivered by Rev. Dr. Shanahan. He dwelt particularly on the position of St. Thomas in the history of thought—a powerful mind molded to a great extent by its mediæval environment and reacting still more effectively upon that environment.

Conference of M. René Doumic.—On Saturday, March 27, M. René Doumic, of Paris, Professor at the Collège St. Stanislas, and co-laborer of M. Brunetière, delivered in French an excellent conference on "French Society and French Literature." The Assembly Hall was crowded with the élite of Washington society, and all went away charmed with the exquisite diction

of the distinguished speaker and pleased by the skill with which he showed French society to be better than the literature which pretends to depict it.

Lectures by Dr. Pace.—On the Saturdays of February and March, Dr. Pace gave a course in Psychology at the Cathedral Library University Extension Centre in New York City. The lectures were chiefly intended for teachers who are preparing to pass the Regents' examination. The subjects were selected in such a way as to present the more important methods and results of modern Psychology, and to indicate their philosophic bearings.

Pittonia.—The latest number of "Pittonia" (Vol. III, No. 18) has just been issued by Professor Edward L. Greene. Its contents are: New or Noteworthy Species, XXI. Studies in the Compositæ, VII—Some Hellenioid Genera; Some Northern Species of Antennaria; Some Southwestern Species of Antennaria; A New Genus of the Senecionideæ; Some Western Species of Erigeron; Miscellaneous New Species. Some Western Polemoniaceæ. New or Noteworthy Species, XXII.

The Baccalaureate Examinations in Theology.—Eleven Theological students have successfully passed the examination for the degree of Bachelor in Theology. This examination, which is both oral and written, includes a review of all the studies made during the seminary course of Theology, together with an elementary knowledge of Hebrew.

Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul.—The feast of the Faculty of Theology was duly celebrated on January 25. Pontifical High Mass was celebrated in the University Chapel by the Apostolic Delegate, and Very Rev. Dr. Bouquillon delivered a discourse on St. Paul.

Bequest of $2,000.—By the will of Miss Mary Quincy of Boston, the University receives a legacy of two thousand dollars. During life Miss Quincy was a warm friend of the University, and the prayers of its professors and students will follow her after death.

Spiritual Retreat.—A spiritual retreat for all the students of the University, ecclesiastical and lay, was given March 27–31. Rev. Michael P. Smith, C. S. P., conducted the exercises, which were well attended.

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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GERBERT—POPE AND PHILOSOPHER.[1]

In an age which Baronius characterizes as *iron, leaden dark*,[2] one figure stood conspicuous in the world of letters and philosophy, as well as in the world of religion and politics. Gerbert (Sylvester II) was in the tenth century what Erigena was in the ninth and what Abélard was in the twelfth. Yet, brilliant as was his career, identified as he was with public affairs, his striking personality was almost buried under legend and fable, when modern scholarship removed the mass of misrepresentation and revealed to us the simple grandeur of a life free from the slightest suggestion of the uncanny. Failing to understand him, yet feeling dimly the greatness of his character, the contemporaries of Gerbert attributed his success to the study of necromancy, and even hinted at a compact with the evil one. Benno, adherent of the anti-pope Guibert, writing at the end of the eleventh century, was the first to give definite form to the dark rumors that were afloat, by accusing Sylvester II of obtaining the papacy through the influence of magic art and by compact with Satan. Martinus Polonus, St. Antonine, Vincent of Beauvais and William of Malmesbury repeated the fable; the Centuriators of Magdeburg gave it new lease of life, and the first Reformers made capital for controversy out of every silly story connected with the name of Sylvester.

[1] Gerbert, Un Pape Philosophe, par F. Picavet, Paris, 1897.

[2] Annales, ad annum 900.

The Letters of Gerbert, published in 1611 by Masson, and in 1636 by Duchesne, should have shown the writer in his true character. Richer's Histories, long neglected by students of the ninth century, but published towards the middle of the present century by Pertz in the "Monumenta Germaniæ," giving us, as they do, the straightforward account of a contemporary historian, should have silenced the voice of schismatic, reformer and Gallican. But great is the power of historical misrepresentation. Despite the publication of documents so decisive, despite the learned works of Mabillon,[1] Muratori[2] and the more recent studies by Olleris[3] and Havet,[4] readers of general history, as well as students of the history of philosophy, still cling to the traditional idea of Gerbert, as presented in Victor Hugo's verse:

Gerbert, l'âme livrée aux sombres aventures.

The work before us, the ninth volume published by the Religious Section of the *Ecole des Hautes Études*, is a valuable contribution, both in matter and in method, to the history of mediæval philosophy. The author bases his narrative on trustworthy contemporary sources, and is accurate as to facts; so that where his judgment is at fault, his references assist the more careful student in verifying and correcting.

To one who has read this volume and has been led by its perusal to study the letters and works of Gerbert, it is clear that the key to the many-sided character of the philosopher–pope is his devotion to philosophy. As monk, teacher, abbot, archbishop and pope, he exhibited talents most varied, but his peculiar concept of philosophy and his devotion to the realization of that concept constitute the centre toward which all the qualities of his mind converge and in which many of the apparent inconsistencies of his actions vanish. Philosophy was for him "the science of things human and divine"; it was co-extensive with knowledge. A philosopher, according to his notion, is one versed in all the known branches of science. Grammar, rhetoric and music belong to the art of expression, but all that is theoretical—mathematics, astronomy, physics, the theory

[1] Annales Ord. S. Bened. II, p. 241. &c.
[2] Rerum Ital. Scriptores.
[3] Œuvres de Gerbert, Paris, 1867.
[4] Lettres de Gerbert, 1889.

of politics—must be included under the name of philosophy. Erudition, therefore, is as essential a requisite in the philosopher as is a synthetic grasp of the principles which underlie all the departments of knowledge, and dominate every department of being. While yet a monk at Aurillac, Gerbert was distinguished among his fellow-students by that *industria* which his papal patron admired; the same *industria* characterized him as master of the cathedral school at Rheims. As teacher, he was indefatigable in his search after knowledge, and his letters show with what perseverance he sought out manuscript copies of the works of pagan and Christian writers. In order to secure a volume which is needed in the library of the school, he begs, he pleads, he flatters, he promises favors; in a word, he resorts to every expedient. Never, not even in the days of the pagan renaissance in Italy, was there a more enthusiastic book-hunter. When he became abbot of Bobbio his zeal for knowledge did not abate. The letters which belong to that period of his life betray his anxiety for the preservation and increase of the cloister library, and it is not at all improbable that the catalogue of the library of Bobbio,[1] so valuable as a guide to the literature of the ninth and tenth centuries, is a description of the wealth of ancient learning amassed by Gerbert. Indeed, Olleris conjectures that the famous Catalogue was prepared by the industrious abbot himself. Gerbert's friends, it would seem, were well aware of his zeal in this regard. "You know," he writes, "with what great eagerness (*quanto studio*) I search everywhere for copies of books."[2]

All this is interesting as an indication of the personal character of the man; it is still more interesting as illustrative of his concept of philosophy. Gerbert was not unacquainted with Erigena's work, *De Divisione Naturae*, and, like Erigena, he conceives philosophy as comprehending all branches of speculative knowledge. Not for two centuries more will the domain of theology be staked off from the region of philosophy; not till the inauguration of the modern scientific movement will the several sciences receive their autonomy—an autonomy which has had its disadvantages as well as its advantages.

[1] Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Medii Aevi III, col. 897.
[2] Letter 130, Migne, Patr. Lat. CXXXIX col. 233.

With what singleness of purpose Gerbert devoted himself to the realization of his concept of philosophy, his contemporaries knew who witnessed the efforts that he made to acquire knowledge of all the sciences, and the modern reader of his letters knows from the ever-recurring mention of study, literature and books. When the condition of his abbey was such that, to maintain his authority, it was necessary to have recourse to arms, he writes that he prefers the ease which is assured him in his studies to the activity of the battle-field—*delegimus certum otium studiorum quam incertum negotium bellorum.*[1] When 'Adalbero, his archbishop, patron and friend—*quippe cum nobis esset cor unum et anima una*—was suddenly taken from him by death, his mind was so distracted by grief that he almost lost his taste for study—*ut pene omnium obliviscerer studiorum.*[2] As archbishop and pope, he sought in vain for the quiet of the old scholastic days at Rheims, and, when he writes down *pax atque otium*[3] as the supreme aim of man's action in this life, formulating a canon of conduct which reminds us of the Stoic ideal, he unconsciously reveals his inborn dislike for the world which distracts, and he shows that the ground principle of his character is his love of study.

A mind so universal in its tastes, so disposed to take a synthetic view of all knowledge and to correlate the different departments of science, articulating them in one organic whole, was well fitted to rule the church at the beginning of the eleventh century. The last years of the tenth century were dark ones in the Church's history. People felt that a crisis was at hand. The belief that with the century that was drawing to a close, the world too would come to an end was widespread among the superstitious, while the real danger that threatened civilization and religion was far from alarming those who were too ignorant to understand it, or too immersed in local political issues to realize its real proportions. Sylvester II, the philosopher-pope, understanding the conditions with which the papacy had to deal, perceived the need of immediate reform. With a comprehensiveness characteristic of his breadth of mind, he realized that the sphere of papal action had been unduly restricted, that the influence of the authority

[1] Ep. 45. [2] Ep. 153. [3] Ep. 57.

of Peter should be felt in the world outside of Rome, and, under his rule, an era was inaugurated in which the Roman See assumed in European affairs that importance which it was its divine mission to assume. Sylvester II ruled the Church as Gregory, Leo and Nicholas had ruled it in their day, and he left a traditional policy which in later times inspired the enlightened action of Gregory VII and Innocent III.

His view of the relations of Church and State is the view of a synthetic philosopher. In the ruler we see at once the trait which distinguishes the student and the teacher. He is, as an ancient chronicler styles him, the philosopher-pope.[1]

Thus we have endeavored briefly to indicate the qualities which characterize this interesting figure in the history of philosophy. By disposition and training, a student of all branches of knowledge, aiming at a synthesis of all in the one reigning science of things human and divine; by providential dispensation, ruler of the Church at one of the most critical moments in her history, Gerbert is always and before all things a philosopher, and it is as a philosopher that he interests us here.

What do we know of the philosophy of Gerbert? The text-books tell us that he introduced Arabic numerals into Christian Europe, that he was learned beyond his contemporaries in mathematical science, and that he wrote a treatise *De Rationali et Ratione Uti*. This treatise is summarised more or less intelligibly by Ueberweg, Stöckl and others, and with such meagre details the student of the history of philosophy is expected to content himself. But if we turn to the sources as contained in Migne's collection, or to the edition of Gerbert's works by Olleris, we shall find material for a more satisfactory account of the philosophy of Gerbert. The sources may be arranged under different heads as follow:

I. Richer's Account of the Controversy Between Gerbert and Otric.—Richer, a contemporary of Gerbert, and author of the histories mentioned above, gives us a most interesting description[2] of a dialectic encounter which took place between Gerbert, Scholasticus of Rheims, and Otric, the most famous of the masters of the schools in Germany. The rival

[1] Adalboldus. [2] Migne, CXXXVIII, col. 105, seqq.

teachers met in the presence of the Emperor Otto I, and of many distinguished prelates. The place of meeting was Ravenna, and the year, in all probability, 970. Challenged by his opponent, Gerbert first defines his notion of philosophy. Philosophy, he says, is the understanding of the truth of things human and divine (*Divinarum et humanarum rerum comprehensio veritatis*). It is divided into theoretical and practical. Theoretical philosophy includes physics (*Physica Naturalis*), mathematics (*Mathematica intelligibilis*), and theology (*Theologia intellectibilis*). Practical philosophy is subdivided into moral (*Dispensativa*), economic (*Distributiva*), and political (*Civilis*). The definition is, plainly, a reminiscence of Cicero and the Stoics, while the division is Aristotle's, with the omission of one subdivision, namely, poetics. After a discussion as to the place of physiology and philology in this division, the disputants pass on to the question: What is the (final) cause of philosophy? Gerbert answers that the final cause of philosophy is a knowledge of things human and divine. The answer is worthy of note, as indicating how far Gerbert is removed from the early Christian Fathers, who, after the manner of the Stoics, looked upon philosophy as the way to virtue, the means of acquiring greater sanctity. For Gerbert, philosophy is its own reward; knowledge is the aim of all science; to know more about nature and nature's God is reward, ample and sufficient, for all the labor which the search after truth imposes upon us.

At this point of the discussion, the argument veers round to the Platonic account of the cause of the world. The world, Plato says, was caused by the good will of God. Now, God's will is styled good because He alone is good by essence; other things are good by participation—*constat Deum substantia solummodo bonum; quamlibet vero creaturam participatione bonam.* Then, with a suddenness which startles us, Gerbert carries the discussion into the province of physics and discourses on the cause of shadows. Here he is on ground which is in a certain sense his own, and no doubt it was his brilliant exposition of the physical and mathematical theories introduced in his explanation of the phenomenon of shadow, that won for him the applause of his hearers and decided the contest in his favor.

The question next arose whether the term *mortal* is subordinate to *rational*, or vice versa. This problem of abstract dialetic, which, in the phraseology of modern logic, means which of the terms has the greater extension, occupied the remainder of the time. At a signal from the emperor the argument came to a close, having occupied, our chronicler tells us, nearly the whole day.

This description of the first oral disputation between leaders of the schools is a document the importance of which is overlooked by almost every historian of philosophy. The narrative is, however, lacking in completeness of detail. Richer was perhaps but ill-equipped for the task of adequately recording a debate on questions so abstruse. But, imperfect as the description is, it gives us a clear statement of Gerbert's definition of philosophy, and shows plainly the variety of problems which at that time were considered philosophical. The allusion to the Platonic account of the cause of the world and the distinction of participated good from good unparticipated, are evidence of awakening interest in problems of a metaphysical nature. This point is overlooked by Picavet,[1] as well as by all the historians of philosophy, who regard the philosophy of the ninth and tenth centuries as confined to the discussion of the problems of dialectic, and fail to notice the metaphysical speculations, tentative as they were, which even at that time were suggested by dialectical questions.

II. Gerbert's Philosophical Treatises.—The work known as *Geometria Gerberti*, admitted as genuine by many learned historians of mathematics, is judged by Olleris and by Picavet to be a compilation, or an amended or expanded recension, of a treatise composed by our philosopher. In the province of mathematical science, to which he contributed also a treatise, *Libellus de Numerorum divisione*, Gerbert shows his power of original thought. This is the portion of his teaching in which his inventive genius manifested itself most strikingly in the construction of mechanical contrivances for the multiplication and division of numbers, and it was these contrivances, no doubt, that earned for him the reputation for dealing in the dark art.

[1] In a brochure entitled *De l'origine de la scolastique*, M. Picavet attacks those who maintain that scholasticism was, until the thirteenth century, confined to the discussion of dialectical problems.

The *Libellus de Rationali et Ratione Uti* was for a long time the puzzle of puzzles for critics and historians. Cousin and Prantl confess their inability to understand it. Hauréau [1] and Stöckl [2] fail to realize its philosophical significance. It is, in point of fact, an elaboration of the problem with which the oral disputation at Ravenna ended. On that occasion, it will be remembered, the question was proposed whether *mortal* is to be subjected to *rational*, or vice versa. In the *Libellus*, Gerbert takes up the terms *rationale* and *ratione uti*, and inquires whether the latter should be predicated of the former. Now, since it was a principle admitted by the dialecticians of the day that the predicate must be of wider extension than the subject, and since *reasonable* has greater extension than *using reason*, is not Porphyry wrong when he says that *using reason* may be predicated of *reasonable?*

Gerbert first calls our attention to the difficulties latent in the problem. Objections, he finds, may be urged from three sources: from the relation of *power* to *act*, from the relation of the accidental to the substantial, and from the relation of the higher (*dignitate seu excellentia seu potentia numerosior*) concept to the lower. Before attempting to answer these objections, he takes up the point of doctrine contained in each; he elucidates, for example, at some length, the nature of power and act, and determines the relation of the one to the other. In this way, he makes the objections throw light on the problem and prepares for its discussion, so that when he comes to the thesis that *ratione uti* may be predicated of *rationale*, he has no difficulty in proving his proposition, by the use of the concepts on which the objections themselves rested.

This short treatise—it occupies but ten columns in Migne's edition of Gerbert's works—because of its obscurity of expression, and of the narrow technical range of its ideas, fails to impress the modern reader with a due sense of its importance. Yet it was written for an emperor, to whom, apparently, its abstruseness was no obstacle, and, as Picavet rightly remarks, it is the first writing in which the method which afterwards characterizes the schools is clearly discernible.

[1] Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique, Vol. I, p. 218.
[2] Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, Vol. I, p. 133.

It was Abélard's *Sic et Non* and Alexander of Hales' *Summa* that gave the scholastic method its definite form ;[1] the document which we are studying exhibits the first trace of that method. Prantl calls attention to the elements which Gerbert borrows from John Scotus Erigena, Hauréau sees in the *Libellus* an attempt at reconciling Platonism and Aristotelianism. But none of these critics succeeds in seizing the true importance of the little treatise, its introduction of metaphysical speculations in connection with the problems of abstract logic. When Dr. Baeumker will have given us complete editions of the works of Candidus, Heiricus, and of the *Glossae* belonging to the ninth and tenth centuries, we shall, perhaps, be able to form a more just estimate of the metaphysics which flourished in the schools before Aristotle, the metaphysician, became known in Christian Europe.

III. We must now turn to Gerbert's *Letters*, in which he treats incidentally such questions of philosophy as his own studies and the subject of his letters suggest. A letter not contained in Migne's collection, but published by Havet,[2] is typical of the writer's character. It unfolds an idea of Providence which is a curious combination of Christianity and Stoicism ; inexorable fate and a beneficent foreseeing ruler are blended in one notion. But Gerbert is careful to except human action from the all-pervading necessity. In the sphere of future contingencies to which human action belongs, the foreseeing ruler becomes fortune, not fate. In Letter 55 we find similar eclectic attempts. In letters addressed to his friends he extols the worth of human friendship ; it is a divine gift ; it is the greatest boon of God to man, and charity is the soil on which it must grow in order to produce its best fruits. After this fashion, a Christian Cicero might treat the moral aspect of friendship, but Gerbert is not content until he has given us what we may call the metaphysical principles on which friendship is explained. Friendship is the force by which God holds together the disintegrating forces of the universe ; it is by friendship that He unites the corporeal and the incorporeal in man. Friendship is, as it were, the cohesive

[1] Compare *Abélard et Alexandre de Hales, fondateurs de la méthode scolastique*, Paris, 1896

[2] Letter 217.

force of the Cosmos—a thought which one cannot help associating with the cosmogenetic theories of Empedocles.

Again, whenever his letters speak of the trials to which his position as abbot and archbishop exposed him, he leads us straightway into a disquisition on the sovereign good. Learn patience in adversity, he writes, for the happiness of man is in peace and resignation. The peace of Church and State, the peace of individual life, should be the aim of our actions here below, and peace unending will be the reward of those actions hereafter. The Stoic loved to treat the world and its irksomeness with fine disdain; he longed for the "passionless peace" of

> A philosopher's life in the quiet woodland ways,
> Far off from the clamor of liars, belied in hubbub of lies,
> From the long-necked geese of the world that are ever hissing dispraise,
> Because their natures are little.

But Gerbert's ideal is not exclusive of the Christian notion of duty towards one's fellow-men. He found his *otium* in *negotium.* His sense of the littleness of the world inspired him with a desire to teach the ignorant, and, as a necessary preparation, to teach himself: *in otio et negotio et docemus quod scimus et addiscimus quod nescimus.*

A man's letters are usually a good index to his character. When one writes, as Gerbert writes, to persons of every station and condition of life, when one treats, as he does, of personal matters, of public affairs, of civil and ecclesiastical occurrences, and when the only trait which all these letters are found to possess in common is an inclination to find a philosophical basis even for the trivial, there cannot be much hesitation in pronouncing philosophy the ruling passion in the mental temperament of the writer. Gerbert's letters, it is true, do not add much to our knowledge of his philosophy; such knowledge as they give is that snatch-and-away kind which is far from satisfactory. But they reveal to us the many-sidedness and completeness of Gerbert's philosophical reading. These traits are more fully established by documents which we are now about to study.

IV. Adalbero's Poem.—Among the disciples of Gerbert at the school of Rheims was a certain Adalbero, who became bishop of Laon, and died in 1030. In a poem which he addressed to Robert II of France, he gives, by way of digression, an account of some theories concerning the origin of the uni-

verse,[1] explains briefly the difference between things corruptible and incorruptible, and applies the distinction to the dual nature of man. After an allusion to the difference between necessary and probable arguments, the digression closes with a personal explanation which gives the passage whatever value it possesses in connection with our subject. "I found these things," he writes, "not being unmindful of what I have heard." The remark, as Hauréau[2] argues, seems to warrant the conclusion that Adalbero is here repeating the lessons learned from Gerbert. M. Picavet agrees with Hauréau that the document may be taken as evidence of Gerbert's teaching, but he is obliged to dissent from Hauréau's verdict that the passage contains a Platonic account of the nature of universals. Here M. Picavet is right. Gerbert was not, as far as we know, a realist of the school of Plato; but, relying, as he does, on Hauréau's translation of the passage in question, M. Picavet can adduce no reason in support of his contention except the antecedent improbability based on a study of Gerbert's life and works. But with the original text of Adalbero's poem before us, we can have no hesitation in pronouncing Hauréau's version inaccurate and his inference unsound.

The passage of Adalbero's poem to which reference is here made, proves, if it be accepted as evidence, that Gerbert in his lessons at Rheims did not confine his attention to dialectical problems, but also carried his inquiries into the region of cosmogony and anthropology.

A document which should not be overlooked in a history of Gerbert's teaching is the letter of Leo, abbot and papal legate. This contemporary witness, writing during the discussion of the rival claims of Gerbert and Arnoulf for the see of Rheims, complains that Gerbert's friends do not respect the authority of the pontifical decrees, because, forsooth, the reigning Pontiff does not recognize as masters Plato, Virgil, Terence, and the herd of philosophers who, soaring in their pride above the earth, sinking like the fishes into the sea, and traveling the earth's surface, like the beasts of the field, try to describe earth, sea and sky. The letter (given by Migne, Vol. CXXXIX, col. 338) is convincing proof of the many-sidedness

[1] Migne, Patrol. Latina, vol. CXLI, col. 784.
[2] Op Cit., vol. I, p. 220,

of Gerbert's teaching. His curriculum, we infer, included a study of nature, and, perhaps, an attempt at studying animal life. For while the report that Gerbert taught these things must have been founded on fact, yet, in the absence of detailed description, we have only to conjecture what may have been the character of these lessons in natural science, and to regret that neither he nor his disciples took pains to write them down. When we remember that not until two centuries later were any of the Aristotelian treatises on nature known to Christian Europe, we realize how interesting would have been a description of the observation by which Gerbert and his disciples sought to verify and supplement the fragmentary scientific doctrines of such Latin writers as were then known and read; while, in the absence of such a description, it is worse than useless to speculate whether Gerbert profited in physics as he did in mathematics by his sojourn in the Christian schools of Spain, or whether, in the tenth century, the Christian schools of Spain could impart any knowledge of the natural sciences.

The treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* has not been mentioned among Gerbert's works, because, as the title implies, its aim and scope is theological, and because, also, its authenticity is not universally admitted.[1] Internal evidence, however, as far as it avails, is in favor of Pelz, who contends that Gerbert is the author of the work.[2]

The style is Gerbert's, the allusion to patristic writers, the quotations from Erigena, the references to mathematical studies, are all in keeping with what we know of Gerbert from his other works. Indeed, M. Picavet, without mentioning any of these considerations, quietly assumes the authenticity of the treatise, and proceeds to quote a passage in which the author declares that dialectic and mathematics are of divine origin. The reference to dialectic is found, word for word, in Erigena's *De Divisione Naturæ*. Once more, then, and in a treatise specially devoted to a theological problem, Gerbert shows his predilection for philosophy and gives additional proof of his varied reading in philosophical literature.

When we come to form an estimate of Gerbert as a philosopher, we must not overlook the first and most important canon

[1] Compare Poole's Illustration of Mediæval Thought, p. 89.
[2] Compare Migne, Vol. CXXXIX, col. 177.

of historical criticism; we must judge a man and his philosophy not by the standard of absolute excellence, but by a measure suited to the conditions under which he lived and wrote. In the tenth century, scholastic philosophy had scarcely learned its first lessons. Erigena, it is true, had made a daring attempt at systematic construction. But Erigena, the first of the school-philosophers, is, in a certain sense, not a schoolman at all. His leaning is towards the mystic view of nature as saturated with the divine, towards the mystic view of mind as incapable of attaining truth unless it be specially illumined from on high; and were it not that while he theosophizes like a mystic, he speculates regardless of authority, confident, as any rationalist, in the power of human reason, he might well be classed with the Neo-Platonic Fathers. Moreover, Erigena's philosophy failed to exercise on subsequent speculation an influence commensurate with its own vastness. No disciples took up his system. His teaching gave no permanent character to the scholastic movement. The stream which, in the twelfth century, finds a definite course, and runs in a well-defined channel, is, in the ninth century, still at its source. Here and there springs rise, each independent of the others, yet all pouring their contents into the main course which appears farther down. One such source is Erigena's philosophy, another, practically independent of Erigena, is the philosophy of Gerbert; and because it is a source it should be studied more carefully.

We know little of the details of Gerbert's teaching, but from the meagre data that have come down to us, we may feel safe in describing it as synthetic in its plan, conservative in its method and orthodox in its conclusions. Gerbert, we have seen, defines philosophy as the understanding of the truth of things human and divine. He makes it include all branches of knowledge, and in his oral teaching he must have sought to synthesize these branches by finding some principle common to all. To us, on whom the ever-increasing richness and variety of scientific results press as a burden, this concept of philosophy seems impossible of realization. It was well, however, for the preservation of the learning of the ancient world that Gerbert and men like him considered it their duty to cultivate every science, and took such pains to ascertain what light

the wisdom of the ancients could throw on each problem. This seems to have been Gerbert's fixed practice. Hence the conservative nature of his method. He was a mathematician, a dialectician, a natural philosopher, a pioneer among natural philosophers. But, except in the domain of natural science, his merit lies in accumulating and diffusing knowledge which was accessible to the few, rather than in finding new paths by the exercise of inventive talent. In this consists his great claim to our recognition. He was well read, not only in the philosophical literature which was current in his day, but also in works difficult of access, works which remained unknown even to his successors of the eleventh century. Never once was he visited with ecclesiastical censure by reason of the novelty of his doctrines. He knew how to keep within the bounds of orthodoxy. Heresy, it is maintained, has its uses. It is certain, however, that heresy did not aid the cause of philosophy during the middle ages. The condemnation of Berengar and Abélard, and the admonition of the council before which Gilbert de la Porrée was cited, threw discredit on philosophy and inaugurated a period of reaction for which those are accountable whose excesses were the occasion for invoking authority. It was such men as Gerbert, who, by teaching in a spirit at once synthetic and discriminating, the wisdom of the ancients, and by their constant care never to overstep the limits of orthodoxy, won such prestige for philosophy as to render the further progress of the scholastic movement possible.

Gerbert's influence on his own generation must have been considerable. The very grotesqueness of the notions which the superstitious entertained in his regard, is evidence of the greatness of his reputation. It was, apparently, his oral teaching rather than his written works that attracted the attention of the men of his day, and his disciples, we may safely suppose, perpetuated his doctrines and extended the influence of his teaching. To that teaching and to the teaching of those who succeeded Gerbert as masters of the church schools, the dialectical movement which through Roscellin, Abélard and St. Anselm was continued down to St. Thomas, owes more than can at this time be determined.

To the student of general history, Gerbert appeals as a man who followed in adversity as well as in prosperity his ideals of

truth and justice. To the ecclesiastical historian, he is the Pope who, during his brief reign, succeeded in elevating the Church to a higher sense of the rank which she should take in the march of European history. To the student of philosophy, he is what we have endeavored to describe him, erudite, conservative, orthodox, synthetic, far-reaching in his influence, a pioneer in natural science, a safe guide in dialectics. In these three phases of his personality, we see a certain oneness: the man, the pope, the philosopher are the same person. The secret of his success in the different parts which he played is, apart from the moral qualities which gave stability and constancy, the breadth of view which characterized the man, the power of seeing many things *sub specie unitatis*.

If M. Picavet fails to present the philosophy of Gerbert in its true perspective, his failure is not due to the lack of sympathy with his subject. Throughout his brochure, and indeed, in all he has written on the history of scholastic philosophy, he shows himself a fair-minded scholar who, though not a professed adherent of any philosophical sect, is prepared to recognize worth wherever he sees it. We cannot refrain here from quoting a passage with which M. Picavet brings his work to a close: "We see," he writes, "in our own day a Sovereign Pontiff whom Catholics revere and whose lofty intelligence the world of the unbelieving admires, who endeavors to realize in our modern civilization the harmony of Church and State which Gerbert strove to bring about under very different circumstances." Those who know what Leo XIII has done for the revival of the study of scholasticism, who understand and appreciate his watchword, *Vetera novis augere et perficere*, will recognize in the successor of Sylvester II an heir not only to his high authority but also to his synthetic capacity of mind; while those who have at heart the progress of philosophical studies in the church schools of our own day, will look confidently to the beginning of the new century, in the hope that it may open, as the eleventh century did, under the enlightened rule of one who, in his encyclicals and his other official announcements, has proved himself a Philosopher-Pope.

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DOMESTIC LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND.[1]

The work before us is remarkable chiefly as an index of the progress made by the new in its rivalry with the old style of history[2]-writing. This latter, known variously as the literary, political, pictorial and individualistic, reigned supreme from the days of Thucydides, Herodotus and above all Plutarch down almost to the end of the last century. It was characterized on the one hand by lack of exact research; on the other by majesty and brilliancy of style, variety of color, love for portraiture and hero-worship. A five minutes' perusal of the pages of Gibbon, Macaulay or Hume gives a good impression of the old style. According to it man must be considered as an individual, not as a representative of his species; true, the mass of the people also merit attention, but only as a background for the portrait of the individual; hence there are no real historical facts except those of the individual when he has raised himself above the uniform, insignificant facts of the crowd. In a word, according to its great prophet, Thomas Carlyle, universal history is fundamentally the history of great men or heroes; all that has come to pass is but the embodiment of the thoughts existing in *their* minds; their history is the soul of the world's history, since they are the seers who alone behold the divine idea of the world and reveal it to humanity; they are the messengers of God, the lightning direct from His hand, the indispensable saviors of their epochs, to whose thoughts the "thoughts of all starting up as from an enchanted sleep, answer 'yes, even so.'"[3]

[1] *Social England*—a record of the progress of the people in religion, laws, learning, arts, industry, commerce, science, literature and manners from the earliest times to the present day, by various writers, edited by H. D. Thraill, D. C. L. 6 vols., 8vo. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896-'97.

[2] See article on "Methods of Historical Inquiry" in *Dublin Review*, April, 1886; also J. Cotter Morrison's article on "History" in the Encyclopedia Brittannica.

[3] "He (Scott) would fain lift up a piece of the past whole and unbroken as a fragment of veritable human experience, with its deep inarticulate suggestions to the conscience and the will. Working as an artist, with an idea of the whole and a genius for distinguishing essentials from non-essentials in the myriad of details, the historian must attempt the almost impossible feat of rivalling reality, of presenting things in succession so that they may live in the imagination as simultaneous, since once they were so in fact; of presenting a *series* so that it may be recognized as a *group*." Edwin Dowden, Transcripts and Studies, London, 1896, p. 184.

But the field hitherto occupied solely by this school has been for nearly a century successfully disputed by a band of invaders grouped under the general name of the sociological school. Their cardinal principles are that man is moulded by his social environment, that he is only an emanation of the collective characteristics of that environment, that therefore this environment is to be studied in all its aspects, not merely in its prominent individuals who are after all only exceptions to the general rule ; furthermore, that all national groups constitute a single social group whose phenomena are to be studied, irrespective of time or place.

The causes which gave birth to this school are so many and so interlaced with one another as well as with those conditioning a revival of mediæval studies, that only with great difficulty can one effect an orderly presentation of them. Still some causes are fairly prominent and easily detected. First, the marvelous advances made in the physical sciences during the present century, and the consequent rise of the mercantile classes imbued with larger sympathies for the masses out of which they arose, have diverted the attention of all from the consideration of problems purely political to those affecting the social conditions of mankind, conditions that are themselves so powerfully affected by the scientific discoveries of the century. Second, the rise of the romantic school of literature accentuated the sociological unity of all, irrespective of limitations of time and place, by portraying a past civilization and proving it to be one with the present, possessing not only the same "hands, feet, and passions," but also the same life-problems. Third, a powerful impulse in the same direction was given by the upheavals of the French Revolution, which so ruthlessly, yet so thoroughly, tore away the silken veil of hypocritical affectation and hollow sentimentality of the "ancien regime," and showed in its place the real face of man with his real passions for good and evil, not the made-up man of the court and salon ; the real man with sympathies for all men whether of high or low degree, whether be-wigged and be-powdered or unkempt and unnoticed ; whether king or noble, peasant or mine-slave. Fourth, then the comparative and evolutionary methods of investigation, so widely applied to other sciences

such as biology and philology, affected the study of history by accustoming the student to give his attention not only to single men, nations or epochs, but to all humanity, all climes and all periods; to closely observe the gradual development and influence of all the forces of civilization whether intellectual, such as universities, schools, and theories of philosophy, or religious, such as creeds, superstitions, clerical morals and power, or literary, such as the formation of languages and their literature, or finally and above all lately, physical, such as food, clothing, dwellings, disease, commerce, and industry. But amongst these by far the most potent impulse is simultaneous with the rise of the theory and practical results of the science of sociology, whose foundation dates from the eighteenth century in the writings of Adam Smith, but whose extension and practical importance are a product of our own, largely as a result of the theories of Comte.[1] Up to this the idea of the "state" had dominated minds to the depreciation of all other considerations, and as a result the acts deemed important by the historian were those of the "state" or of its great rulers and thinkers—such acts as treaties, wars, succession of princes down to their great vices and little foibles. But the new science now considered the state merely as one of many other sociological phenomena, as something smaller than society at large, and man therefore not merely in his political but as well in his intellectual, religious, and economic conditions. Under its influence, then, the historian began to change his method of writing, a change apparent even in the works of as early a writer as Gibbon, and, not content with treaties, wars, doings of princes or "heroes," to deal as well with minute customs, superstitions, the cut of dress, the cooking of food, and a hundred other things deemed uniform and insignificant by his predecessors.

The new method found favor, and has, to a great extent, supplanted the old, for of the earlier English authorities Gibbon alone holds his own, whilst Hume, Macaulay, and Robertson, who moulded the historical opinions of our fathers, have, as historians of the past, been buried in oblivion by a more or less grateful posterity, or else have become original authorities for

[1]Cf. La Litterature Moderne by Ferdinand Brunetière, p. 455.

their own age only. However, the recent congress of German historians lately held at Innsbruck[1] shows that many gallantly keep up the individualistic traditions of Ranke. Therefore, in the making of a choice of method the student might well use great care. While his modern environment might naturally incline him in favor of the new school, especially if a Catholic, since it is so intimately connected both in causes and in time with the revival of mediævalism, to whose influence is due the conversion of such able men as Hurter and Phillipps; nevertheless it is to be confessed that our gains in accuracy and range of information are only too often counterbalanced by a dearth of dramatic portraiture, literary style, and general philosophic grasp of history. Then again that peculiar inspiration which endowed men like Shakespeare and Scott with their marvellous ability to read into the hearts of past men, regarding whom their actual information could have at best been slight, grows rarer under the new conditions.[2] Perhaps, therefore, the future historian will be eclectic, combining as far as possible the scientific analysis of the new with the philosophic synthesis of the old school, a combination which has already been made in such works as the History of Civilization by Guizot, and is at times apparent in the eloquent pages of the Norman Conquest of Freeman.

Leaving aside these preliminary considerations of historical methods suggested by a reading of Mr. Thraill's book, its intrinsic merits may well engage our attention. With regard to the rather harsh criticisms of certain reviews, we mildly suggest that the critics do not sufficiently reflect that many of the real and serious defects alluded to are almost necessary in a work of such vast proportions; furthermore, that the work is intended not so much for the specialist as for the general reader, to whom is now given a far better opportunity than he ever before had of acquiring a general idea of England, ancient, mediæval, and modern.

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[1] See *Revue Historique* for Nov. Dec., 1897.

[2] "Though popular progress and the advancement of the masses . . . in social development . . . may be a very important part, yet it is not the whole of history, still less the whole of the history of this nation. The influence of kings and nobles has, at all events until recent times, been so marked and continuous . . . that their personal adventures cannot be disintegrated from the general body of our history without blurring its lineaments and mangling its due proportions." *London Quarterly*, April, 1876.

Moreover, from a Catholic standpoint we have no hesitation in according a hearty welcome to the volumes dealing with the pre-Reformation period, since they show, in general, a sympathy for Catholic traditions and present no malevolent misrepresentation of facts; indeed, very seldom any misrepresentation whatever. One might, however, ask with some reason why an eminent Catholic authority like Dom Gasquet was not requested to write, for instance, the chapter on the "Black Death." Then, again, why is Lingard's "Anglo-Saxon Antiquities" not mentioned in the bibliographies? Dr. Lingard is far from being a back number, so far in fact that had his Antiquities been consulted by the well-known author of the "Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury," he would hardly have made his sweeping assertions (Introduction, p. 22), in regard to the teaching and doctrine of Transubstantiation in the early English Church.[1]

Our purpose in this study is to offer a résumé of the information contained in the extensive volumes of Mr. Thraill concerning the private life of the English people in their Catholic period. For that reason, we shall try to compass under certain general rubrics the chief outlines of a very voluminous presentation.

I. Houses.—Nothing so well illustrates the difference in social rank characteristic of a feudal regime as the distinction between the residences of the very wealthy and those of the great mass of the people. Precisely, therefore, in that period of English history immediately succeeding the Conquest, par excellence the feudal period, we find this distinction most in evidence. Until the thirteenth century the noble lived in his impregnable castle, usually of stone, sometimes of wood, overlooking from some summit the surrounding country; the sides varying from 25 to 100 feet in length, from thirty to ten in thickness, forming a rectangle with huge towers at each corner, and surrounded when possible by a moat full of water. Below was the store-room, higher up the rooms for the owners and garrison, reached by narrow staircases made in the thickness of the walls. Such was the typical castle, long the curse of England during the twelfth century and almost up to the age described

[1] See Antiquities, p. 294 et seq.

in "Ivanhoe," when they were filled, as the chronicle goes, with "devils" for the perpetration of all manner of wicked deeds. Simultaneously with the rise of the commons in the next century and the dawn of an era of greater order as the result of the vigorous administration of the Plantagenets, the average noble was glad enough to exchange this really uncomfortable abode for one which would combine the greater freedom of out-door life with the security given by fortification in an age when police protection, such as we know it, could not be said to exist. Hence we now see the use of the fortified manor-house, whose main defenses consisted only in a moat and a tower of refuge. By the fifteenth century this gave way to the real dwelling house of the wealthy land owner. Comfort increased in proportion. The making of bricks, the art of which had been forgotten ever since the departure of the Romans, was reintroduced about the year 1400, and simultaneously came into existence real chimneys in place of the old smoke-vents cut into the wall in Norman days. Yet, withal, even the wealthy in those days must have found their houses rather uncomfortable; a single bedroom was usually thought convenient, nor was much done in the way of wainscoting and ceiling; houses containing even four beds for the accommodation of their inmates were thought to be extravagantly furnished; in fact, internal magnificence was chiefly shown in glittering rows of plate and pewter.

The condition of the houses of the lower classes may easily be inferred. They were for a long time of wood, never until the fifteenth century of brick, built of posts, matted and plastered with clay or mud, usually one story high, although upper stories, called "solars," were begun to be added in the fourteenth century. Chimneys long remained a luxury of the rich, while by the date just mentioned glass windows seem to have been pretty generally in vogue, although they were quite costly, since we are told that when a certain nobleman left his town residence the glass windows were taken out and carefully stowed away until his return. The upper chambers, of course, corresponded to our sleeping rooms, but their comfort can be estimated by the fact that for a long while, even in great castles, they were reached by means of an outside staircase, and

in the poorer houses by a ladder. Of parlors, even in the houses of wealthy merchants, we find no mention before the fifteenth century. The sale-room of the merchant, which must have been part of the dwelling house, consisted of an outside booth.

In the towns huge signs swung overhead. They were obliged by law to be at least nine feet above ground, so as to allow a man on horseback to pass under unharmed, a regulation which in a high wind must have proved a poor protection to the heads of the passers by. Outside the door, at least in the towns, were thrown all kinds of refuse and ordure, which, when left to the sanitary precautions of the porcine scavenger, must have been anything but pleasant to the senses or conducive to good health. Another peculiarity was that later on the upper stories began to overhang the lower after the fanciful way so well known to picture books.

Here and there different material may have been used, and a different construction adopted, but the typical house of the mediæval man below the rank of nobility could hardly have been other than here described.

II. Furniture and Decoration.—On entering into an English mediæval house one would be instantly struck with the absence of painting as an adornment of the walls. Painting as an art appears in mediæval England merely as a very humble handmaid of ecclesiastical architecture or of manuscript illumination, and seldom as an ornament of the home either rich or poor. Instead of pictures, therefore, he would see in the halls of the noble his sword, shield, lance, battle-ax, coat-of-mail or plate-armor; later on, his coat-of-arms, and in the cottages of the poorer, the implements both of husbandry and of war; above all, that terrible six-foot bow which made the English infantry so invincible at Crécy and Agincourt. Our wall-paper and plastering would in the houses of the well-to-do be supplied by hanging curtains or tapestry. Carpets were introduced as late as the time of Henry V, but were then luxuries for the very wealthy, ordinary folks being satisfied for a long time with the bare ground, on which rushes were strewn, or later on, with stone or brick floors covered with matting, frequently also with strewn sand. Books were of

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course seldom in evidence, the art of printing having been invented too late to render their existence hardly common outside of the *Scriptoria* of the monasteries and other centres of learning, or in the house of some nobleman or great churchman whose ample resources enabled them at times to make very extensive collections—an exception, however, must be made for the Prymer or prayer-book which was to be seen well-nigh in all houses. Glass mirrors, first made in Belgium or Germany, also came into use in this century. Of furniture, properly speaking, many things were lacking that now the very poorest laborer considers necessaries. A twelfth century writer thus describes how a bed-chamber should be ordered, speaking, we presume, of a well-to-do establishment. The walls should be hung with tapestry, a chair at the head of the bed, a bench at the foot; upon the bedstead a feather bed with a bolster, the latter being covered with a short sheet over which a handsome cloth on the part where the head is to rest; over this, sheets of sendel, silk, or linen, all covered with a counterpane of some green stuff bordered with skins of cat, beaver, or marten. Sitting-rooms there were none—the lady of the house receiving her guests of both sexes in her bed-room. Out in the hall the twelfth and thirteenth century furniture would consist of a table, trestles, benches, tablecloths, basin and ewer, hearth with fire burning, together with logs, irons, and tongs. To this add a pair of bellows, a long settle, a chair, a side table, a lectern for reading, and a screen. Of course all these articles would be found only in the houses of the very wealthy, since we are told that the furniture of even wealthy merchants in the fifteenth century was poor and mean compared not only to the princely establishments of the modern man of means, but even to the homes of a very large class of American workmen.

III. Cooking.—When we come to the culinary department we meet with a lavishness of display and abundance of good cheer not behind our own age of plenty and show, nor was good living confined to the more well-to-do classes. In fact the English have always had a high standard of diet. They preferred to eat no bread "that beans in were, but of cocket or clerematyn, or else of clean wheat—ne no piece of bacon, but if it be fresh flesh, other fish fried or baked," above all avoiding

rye-bread (black-bread), which was the staple food of the French peasantry and the cause, perhaps, of the greatest dietetic maladies of the Middle Ages—St. Anthony's fire or ergotism. In the thirteenth century wheat bread was almost universal in the poorest classes of the English people, while the use of wine and salt was equally common. The "Vision of Piers Plowman" gives the diet of the small farmer in the reign of Edward III, and it is certainly not small—green cheeses, curds, cream, unleavened cakes, horse-bread, "bran baked" for the children, leeks, parsley, cabbage, peas, beans, onions, chervils, and cherries. He was without chickens, geese, and pigs. Apparently he ate little meat, but we are informed later on in the next century that the poor ate "*plentifully of all kinds* of flesh and fish;" whilst other vegetables like turnips, gourds, mushrooms, rice, spinach, and various herbs were becoming quite common, and beer or ale was holding its own with wine.

In the higher classes both eating and drinking were frequently carried to great excess. The Normans were originally quite temperate and fastidious, but they soon lost this characteristic from contact with the Anglo-Saxons. Of their *menus* we have hardly any record, but Alexander Neckham (twelfth century) furnishes us with a treatise on utensils, which gives a fair idea of their kitchen interiors. According to it no feast of to-day could be more elaborate and no kitchen better fitted up. The list of fish alone is astounding—salmon, soles, conger, plaice, mullet, ray, dog-fish, mackerel, turbot, herring, lobster, stickle-backs, oysters, bass, lamprey, mussel, smelt, gudgeon, barbel, loggerhead, seahorse and cod. One menu preserved to us gives the following courses: "First is brought in a boar's head with its tusks in its snout garnished with flowers; then venison, cranes, peacocks and swans, wild geese, kids, pigs and hens. The third course was of spiced or seasoned meats with wine both red and white. Then came pheasants, woodcock, partridges, fieldfares, larks and plovers; lastly came 'white powder' and sweetmeats." The drinks were of various kinds, cider, beer, ale, must (a kind of claret), mead, perry, rose wine, fruity wine, wine of Auverne and clove wine "for hard drinkers and gluttons, whose thirst is insatiable."

Even this elaborate menu was not long enough for the fifteenth century gourmand, as is evidenced by the feast given in honor of the marriage in 1403 of Henry IV with Joan of Navarre.[1]

What surprises us now are the quantity and variety of fish which our English forefathers ate. Thus a menu of the same date for the "Three Courses of Fish" gives a really astonishing list.[2] No wonder that Henry III ordained that, except for extraordinary occasions, no more than two dishes should be served at one meal—a real hardship for some who were accustomed to at least ten or sixteen.

The appurtenances of the table were about the same as our own—a clean white cloth, a cup to each person, knives, but no forks, napkins, spoons, finger bowls. The style of helping oneself was quite different from our modern etiquette. Each one cut off that part of the meat which suited him, depositing it on a slice of bread which, until a late period, served as a plate and was itself eaten last. The fingers did the duty of the fork, and were then cleansed as to-day.

Table manners, at least among gentle folk, were insisted on rigorously. Thus the esquire is told to "cut his bread on a trencher and not to break it, to take his broth with a spoon and not to drink it, not to eat with his mouth full, to wipe his lips before he drinks, not to dip his meat in his salt-cellar nor to put his knife in his mouth, to taste every dish brought to him, to have a clean knife and trencher for his cheese, and, finally, at the close of the meal to clean his knife, put it away and then wash his hands." Nor must the reader conclude a lack of good manners from the fact that each one cut from the meat what he liked, since by the end of the fifteenth century we meet with a long list of names for carving, which suggests

[1] *First course.*—"Fylettes in galentyne (the herb called galyngale,) Vyand riall (honey wine, rice, spices, etc.) Beef, mutton, etc., cynets, fat capon, pheasants, chewets of flesh or fish, a sotelte. *Second course.*—Venisno, jelly, suckling pigs, rabbits, bitterns, stuffed hens partridge, leach (made of cream, isinglass, sugar and almonds,) boiled brawn, a sotelte. *Third course.*—Almond cream, pears in syrup, roast venison, woodcock, plover, rabbits, quails snipe, fieldfare, custard, sturgeon, fretour, a sotelte. (These soteltes were devices made in paste or sugar, sometimes quite elaborate.) Needless to mention that these names, if written as they were spelt, would be as puzzling as the modern menu done up in French.

[2] *First Course*—Vyand ryall, Lombardy broth, salt fish, powdered lampreys, pike, breme, roast salmon, Lombardy custard, a sotelte. *Second*—Porpoise, jelly, breme, salmon, congre turnarde, plaice, lamprey pie, leach, crowned panthers (a soltete). *Third*—Almond cream, pears in syrup, tench in couples, trout, fried flounders, perch, roast lamprey, loach, crabs and crayfish, crowned eagle (a sotelte.)

that the office had become quite important and demanded considerable skill.[1]

On the whole, therefore, Englishmen of the middle ages in all ranks of life seem to have been very good eaters as far as quantity goes. It seems equally safe to affirm that they were the same "thirsty" race that they now are. As regards quality their food and drink was protected by a process of inspection which might be well employed even nowadays. Sellers of butter, new and old mingled together, were put in the pillory—a fitting repose for the modern venders of oleomargarine. The ale "conners" were obliged by law to see that a good article was sold. Finally, a reasonable price, gauged by the cost of production, was set upon all articles so that no one ran the risk of being cheated. Thus, in the reign of Henry IV the "best goose went for six pence, the best pullet for two, the best rabbit, with the skin, for four, the best wild duck for three, the best snipe for one penny, four larks for one penny, the best woodcock for three pence, the best partridge for four pence, a dozen thrushes for six pence, the best heron for sixteen pence, and twelve pigeons for eight pence. In the year 1314 the best ox went for sixteen shillings, the best cow for twelve, a fat hog two years old for three shillings four pence.

Of course to get at the modern value of money we must multiply these figures by six or eight, yet the fact that these prices were fixed sometimes by parliament itself in order to bring them within the purchasing power of the poor people is a proof that they were then deemed quite reasonable, and, in spite of the benefits brought to modern trade by the competitive system, it is very doubtful indeed if the old patriarchal system of protecting the poor against the *cornering* of the necessaries of life was not as beneficial, perhaps more so, to the poor at large than our present regime.

IV. Home Amusements.—As early as the reign of Henry I, a chronicler calls his country "merry England" (Anglia plena jocis); the English, according to him, being a free people of a free spirit and a free tongue, with abundance of good

[1] Thus one must know how "to break a deer, lift a swan, spoil a hen, sauce a capon, unbrace a mallard, disfigure a peacock, display a crane, wing a partridge, mince a plover, thigh a woodcock, string a lamprey, side a haddock, tame (tayme) a crab, barbe a lobster," etc.

things for themselves and something to spare for their neighbors across the sea. Now, while this reputation might possibly have been due rather to their material prosperity compared with that of their neighbors than to any natural joyousness of character, at least so far as the slow and heavy Saxon was concerned ; nevertheless, it indicates that their lives were spent in other exercises besides warring or "staggering behind the plow." They must have believed in the words of the old song, that the world was made for fun and frolic. Certainly there was no dearth of amusements in the open air, where until a near period tournaments were quite often indulged in by the knights in spite of the Church's prohibition of such dangerous sport. Cock-fighting, horse-racing (no betting however), sham battles, boating, skating (skates made of bone), archery, and hunting, were common amusements. Hunting was largely confined to the wealthy, as is proven by the forestry laws. We may add to this list the game which seems so peculiarly English—football.

Indoor amusements were fewer, the surroundings were not comfortable enough to be inviting. Books, except in the houses of some literary noble like Robert of Gloucester, the patron of the historian, William of Malmesbury, or in those of clerics were, of course, quite rare until printing came in; but the romances of troubadours and minstrels, the narratives of the aged, and, perhaps, also a visiting cleric supplied them with an amount of light literature, really enormous for the rich and for the poor, doubtless more extensive than that enjoyed by the poorer classes of today.

Of amusements proper there were for the better classes chess and draughts. Girls embroidered, had pet birds, Italian greyhounds, and lap-dogs. Music and dancing were the usual requisites in the education of ladies and gentlemen. The musical instruments were many, as the viol, organ, chimes of small bells, fiddle, the psaltery or shawn, zither, horn, trumpet, bagpipes, drum, tabor, cymbals, hurdy-gurdy, flageolet, and above all the harp, the favorite instrument of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. For

> "Next his chaumbre, besyde his study,
> Hys Harper's chaumbre was fast thereby.

Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
He had solace of notes and layes.

The vertu of the Harpe, through skill and ryght,
Will destroy the fendy's (fiend's) might;
And to the Cros(s) by gode skeyl
Ys the Harpe lykened weyl."

A curious fallacy regarding the Middle Ages is that the love of nature was withered like summer grass by the overpowering influence of dry sacerdotalism.[1]

I call it a fallacy. It is so far untrue that, not to mention the love of nature so evident in the romance of the day, the garden played a most important part in the home-life of the mediæval man whenever he could afford one. In the reign of Henry II a chronicler speaks of the "spacious and beautiful" gardens in the suburbs of London. Thus, in the fifteenth century, we have the description of an admirable garden, there being the cypress, sotlerwood and cykamoure, box, beech, laurel, date, damson, fig, maple, poplar, plane trees covering green arbors, and all manner of flowers, such as the "red rose and the lyly floure," and

On every branche sate byrdes thre,
Syngyne with great melody;
The jaye jangled them amonge,
The lark began that mery songe,
The goldfynche set her notes full mery chere,
When she was bent upon a brere,
And many other foules mo, etc.

The ladies spent much of their time outdoors gathering wild flowers to make into garlands, playing at ball and organizing picnics. Thus in Chaucer's "Frankelyn's Tale" is narrated how Dorigene's friends try to rouse her from her melancholy by means of a picnic:

They goon and pleye hem al the longe daye;
And this was in the sixte morne of May,
Which May hadde peynted with his softe shoures
This gardyn, ful of leves and of floures,
And crafte of mannes hand so curiously
Arrayed hadde this garden, trewly,
That nevere was there gardyn of swich prys,
But if it were the very Paradys.
The odour of floures and the fresshe sighte
Wolde han maked any herte lighte
That evere was born, but if to greet siknesse,
Or to greet sorwe, helde it in distresse,
So ful was it of beautee with pleasaunce.

[1] "During the long dream of the Middle Ages nature ceased to have deep poetic and spiritual meaning for men: *Ceased indeed to enter into their lives.*"—"Short Studies in Literature" by Hamilton Wright Mabie, p. 57.

Surely one must not wait for Thompson or Gray to find a love of nature in English hearts.[1]

V. EDUCATION.—Education was, of course, gained at schools out of the house. Hence, our only excuse for mentioning it is the importance given to domestic instruction. Then, as now, were outside schools where the children of gentlemen were taught good manners wherewith to appear well in "society," but at home every girl was taught things which their descendants of to-day are not always any too proficient in. She was taught to love God, to go to church "*in spite of the rain*," to give alms freely, not to *talk in church*, not to be rude nor laugh loudly, but "soft and mild," not to walk too fast, not to "*brandish*" with her head, or "*wriggle*" her shoulders, or swear, to drink moderately, to be cautious in her relations with the other sex and accept no presents, and

> "If any man biddith the worschip, and wolde wedde thee,
> Loke that thou scorne him not, what-so-evere he be,
> But schewe it to thi freendis and (conceal) it nought;
> Site not bi him, neither stoonde; there synne mygte be wrought,
> For a sclaundre reised ille
> Is yuel for to stille
> Mi leve childe.

Besides this general instruction girls were taught a smattering of medicine and surgery so as to be physicians-in-ordinary to the household. Above all they were taught that art apparently simple, but which generations of the suffering sterner sex have for ages declared the art most difficult of acquirement —housewifery.

VI. SICKNESS AND DEATH.—If England was merry she was equally sad, since the mortality during this period must have been frightful, the population from the Conquest to the Reformation standing practically stationary, between two million and two million and a half, although before the black death some have estimated it at four and a half. This was due to three main causes—war, famine, and defects of sanitation and medical

[1] Even their bad Latin could not hinder the mediæval rhymer from indulging in descriptive poetry, as the following lines from the song preserved in Wright's Political Songs, 1839, p. 23:

> "Tempus erat quo terra novo pubescere partu
> Ceperat, et teneras in crines solverat herbas,
> Vellera pratorum redolens infantia florum
> Pinxerat, et, renovas crispans coma primula silvas,
> Innumeras avium revocavit ad organa linguas," etc.

skill. War of some shape seems to have been almost the regular thing. Welsh and Scotch wars alternate with the French in tiresome monotony, which we would imagine would have been enough to satisfy the instincts of the most martial people without the further addition of the crusades and interminable civil wars. Added to the horrors of continuous war the leprosy contributed also its share to the mortality, though not to the extent so generally supposed. Leper hospitals were first founded soon after the Conquest by the benevolence of kings, queens, chivalrous nobles, pious ladies, bishops, and abbots. The disease, however, never attained to proportions of any real moment, a few cases existing in a village here and there, one or two in a market town, a dozen or more in a city, a score or so in a whole diocese, whilst its absolute disappearance from England is coincident with the appearance of that general prosperity which is so marked a characteristic of the fifteenth century, in contrast to the miseries occasioned by the black death in the preceding.

But famine and pestilence stalked like two hideous demons from one end of England to the other with a frequency which now would be impossible. A great famine fell about 1086 or 1087, causing enormous loss of life. There was considerable famine and pestilence under William Rufus, so also under Henry and Stephen. Under Henry II the famines ceased for a time. Again, under Richard I (1196) the poor were buried in trenches. So, too, in 1257-1259 and 1289. They continued more or less frequent for forty years, at times being so sharp that some ate the flesh of their own children, or of others which they kidnapped, while the inmates of prisons tore in pieces and devoured, half alive, the new comers. Then in 1348-9 came the terrible black death which carried off half the entire population, and laid the seeds for later epidemics, of 1361, 1368-9, 1375, 1382, 1390-1. In this last visitation eleven thousand died in the city of York alone. Famines appear again in 1405, 1407, 1438, 1439, 1464-5, 1471, 1478, 1485, not entirely disappearing until 1666. Each famine was generally due to a succession of two or three bad crops, for during the Middle Ages England was practically an agricultural country, so that the loss of a crop meant loss of well-nigh all,

whilst the system of farming was apparently so rude that a failure was quite easy. As a result of scarcity people would eat unwholesome food, hence the pestilence, except when the latter was, like the black death, brought from abroad, or was due to the woful lack of sanitary measures, a sense of which seems to have arisen only after the latter visitation. The first "sanitary act" was passed by Parliament in 1388 and prohibited the throwing of dung, garbage, etc., into ditches and rivers. Originally each householder had the duty of removing refuse, but in 1540 the town of Ipswich had regularly appointed officers to see to it. As late as 1343 the offensive latrines, dust-heaps, and the like were in the narrow lanes leading down to the Thames. Of course the smallness of the towns did not as a rule necessitate the precautions of the present day. Still, with all due allowance the defects in this matter can hardly be termed otherwise than gross.

When a man did fall sick, medical aid was at best only rudimentary. The Norman girls were, we have seen, taught a little medicine and surgery. Later on the science was chiefly in the hands of Jews and Franciscan Friars, who knew, of course, all the country-lore as to the use of herbs and in surgery could use splints, lancets, bandages, and hot brick. They knew also how to stanch blood, extract missiles, reduce dislocations, and perform the simpler operations of cutting, trepanning and the like. Beyond this they knew very little, as is easily seen from the fact that medicine was supposed to have quite an intimate connection with astrology or astronomy. The days and hours for drawing blood were regulated by the changes in the moon. Roger Bacon himself complained that most of the physicians of the day were ignorant of the better part of medicine because they neglected astronomy. The latter also counseled the use of charms, but for a good reason, namely, because they bring the patient to a better frame of mind. Nevertheless, this indicates the high esteem in which they were held by the average patient. Many practitioners must have been mere impostors, since a book of the year 1300 counsels young doctors "never to visit a patient without doing something new, lest the patient should say that they can do nothing without their book." Again the ceremonial of the

Church often played an important part in the administration of medicine. While the medicine was being compounded, the patient would repeat twelve times the psalm *Miserere*, then several *Pater Nosters*, then drink the dose and wrap up warm; or he would sing the psalm *Salvum me fac, Deus*, then drink the draught out of a church bell, the priest finishing the cure with the prayer over him, *Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens;* or else the remedy was taken at the shrine of a saint, or after touching the bier of a holy man, or at a holy well.

But we must not, therefore, laugh at these English forefathers, since in an age when it was impossible for medicine to make much headway against the disabilities imposed by the want of books and the low state of the natural sciences, it was only natural for the poor people to look in distress up to God and the saints, or even to those great powers of nature the very ignorance of whose strength made them all the more awful and respected. Moreover, they were far from being blind to their imperfections, since the sarcasm of Molière against physicians was anticipated long before his time. John of Salisbury in the twelfth century laments that for his sins he was so often in the doctors' hands, whilst the "Vision of Piers Plowman" says that "Murtherers are many leeches—Lord them amend." They laughed at their own failings just as we do now; true, they were children as far as progress is concerned, but they knew it and sought to be men.

VII. Police.—Judging by the accounts of contemporary chroniclers, the poor for a long period after the Conquest must have had but little protection against the lawlessness of their Norman masters, the same who built castles and filled them with "devils." Lawlessness rose and fell in proportion as a king was strong or weak in his administration, and with the decay of feudalism such excesses grew less. It naturally ceased soonest in the town which had by degrees acquired certain rights of self-government not possessed by the people in the country who were subject to the lord. But even in the towns we meet with no such regular system of police as we are to-day accustomed to. One of the duties of an alderman in the fourteenth century was to "arrest persons who dared to wander by night about the streets of the city after curfew with

sword or buckler, or with other arms to do mischief, to shut the taverns and ale houses at the same time, and expel from the same all suspicious persons." These worthies, together with the sheriffs, lords, bailiffs, coroners, conservators of the peace, constables and other such officers, punished crime according as a case happened to come under their jurisdiction, but beyond this no other system of police is apparent. Still, local crime, at the end of the fourteenth century, judging by our standard, was fairly rare, so that a family could sleep at home with reasonable security.

VIII. DRESS: VARIA.—The variety of dress and the variations of fashion offer as wide a field as that of food and cooking, so that the present sketch must perforce content itself with giving only a general outline. The Normans at first initiated very few changes from Anglo-Saxon attire, which consisted in a belted tunic, sometimes a mantle fastened at the shoulder with a brooch or ornamented pin, drawers tight fitting and occasionally banded diagonally on the knee; sometimes a flat cap, boots short and of various colors, also shoes that later on tapered to a point. Gradually luxury in all its forms crept in. The sleeves grew wider and richer; the tunics were long enough to sweep the ground. The poor wore trousers, and laborers are sometimes represented as threshing whilst stripped to the waist.

In the first half of the thirteenth century there was little alteration, though the materials became richer through the use of velvet, sendel, sarcenet, tartan, gauze, silk woven with gold, chiefly brought in by returning crusaders. A curious head-gear was common, called a coif, and tied like a baby's cap under the chin. The peasantry seem to have worn a tunic of varying length, sometimes a cloak of rough skin, probably sheepskin, together with an occasional felt or cloth hat. Women at the Conquest wore a kirtle reaching to the knee over a longer tunic of linen. The neck and bosom were not exposed; no attempt was made to display a slender waist, nor had their heads any covering but the hood. But here changes in favor of greater beauty and luxury rapidly crept in; the bodice was cut and laced in order to show the figure, jewelry became quite the fashion, and of course also earrings; the hair,

which at first was worn in two long plaits brought over the shoulders and elaborately intertwined with threads or ribbons, was, in the reign of Henry III, gathered up and confined in a caul or net sometimes made of gold thread. The sleeves were worn so tight that they were often laced or sewn on the arm; other garments were the chemise, coverchief, handkerchief, wimple, cape, mantle, coat, surcoat, frock, stays and aprons. Lastly, in order better to ensnare the manly heart, the hair was bleached, the eyes were painted, and bleeding and fasting were resorted to in order to give a pale and languishing appearance.

Up to the middle of the fourteenth century, the dress of the laborer underwent little or no change, but that of the higher classes suffered considerable modifications. The women now wore a veil over the caul, confined sometimes by a coronet or else by pins; also a sort of half mantle secured across the breast with a cord, whilst the long trailing dresses still continued to excite the laughter of the satirists.[1] Male dress was usually a long gown reaching to the feet, and sometimes clasped around the waist with a girdle, long leggings or stockings richly worked with gold threads, or else a tunic reaching to the knee. The materials were extremely various, both as to texture and color, since we are told that the English soldiers "were cloathed all in cotes and hoods, embroidered with floures and branches very seemlie," in derision of which the Scots said:

> "Longbeards, hartless; painted hoods, witlesse;
> Gaie cotes gracelesse, make England thriftlesse."

Within another century fine woolen cloth was at the disposition even of the peasantry, while in the higher classes luxury reached such a height that Parliament felt itself called upon to regulate it by sumptuary acts. Among women the sleeves grew long and tighter, tight lacing increased, and the waists were worn much longer than at present. Buttons were

[1] "I have heard, says one, of a certain woman whose white robes dragged on the ground and raised a dust as high as the altar and the crucifix. When, however, she would leave the church and lifted up her trail on account of the dirt, a certain holy man saw a devil laughing, and adjured him to tell why he laughed, who said: A companion of mine was just now sitting on that woman's train and using it as if it were his chariot; when, however, the woman lifted up her train my friend was shaken off into the dirt, and that is the cause of my laughing."

the rage, sometimes as many as thirty-two being worn on each arm. A close-fitting jacket also came into vogue. Later on (c. 1420) the waists and sleeves were shortened ; buttons were no longer in such demand ; the hair had puffed out on both sides and when covered with the mantle looked like horns.[1] This style gave way to steeple cap or butterfly head-dress. Finally the gown was cut low so as to display the necklaces then in vogue.

Male attire was even more luxurious and ridiculous ; the sleeves grew longer[2], the long gown even trailed behind and was cut at the edges into all sorts of fantastic shapes. Some noblemen possessed no less than 250 suits; Richard II is said to have had a suit of cloth of gold and precious stones valued at 30,000 marks ; and another prince is said to have worn a garment of blue satin full of small eyelet holes at every one of which hung the needle and silk with which it had been sewn. The hat consisted of a thick roll of stuff wound around the head like a turban, having attached to it a long string of cloth by which it might be fastened to the girdle and the hat then thrown back over the shoulder when not worn. Later on real hats were coming into use, with high crowns, little or no brim and a feather ; the hose grew quite tight, the coat ridiculously short, and bolstering or stuffing was in fashion. Originally the Normans shaved not only the entire face but as well the back of the head, allowing the rest of the hair to grow long. Later on they nourished their heads like the Anglo-Saxons, and in the fifteenth century wore their hair not only long but curled.

This brings us to the end of the Middle Ages, where we can close this subject by noticing a few other miscellaneous cus-

[1] Of which the satirist said :

" Clerkes record, by great authority,
Horns were given to beasts for defence;
A thing contrary to femininity,
To be made sturdy for resistance,
But arch wives, eager in their violence,
Fierce as tigers for to make affray,
They have despite, and act against conscience.
List not to pride, then horns cast away."

[2] " Now hath this land little neede of broomes
To sweepe away the filth out of the streete,
Since wide sleeves of pennilesse groomes
Will it up licke, be it drie or weete."

toms. Marriage seems to have been, as with us, rather the outcome of mutual affection than of any previous arrangement of the parents. Of course it was celebrated in the church, followed by feasting and dancing at home, then, sometimes the young couple were ushered into the bridal chamber by their friends, the priest blessing the couch with holy water. After death the corpse was buried sometimes merely in a shroud, more often in a rectangular coffin. The strict observance of retiring to bed at the ringing of the curfew bell about 8 o'clock was due to the Conqueror, who thus sought to prevent any secret gatherings of the conquered. After the Conquest we also have the custom of going to bed naked, which died out in good society only at the dawn of the sixteenth century. As to names, what strikes one as rather queer is the rarity of the name "Mary," whilst the influence of the baptizing priest is easily detected in such Latin names as Christina, Johanna, Petronilla, Annabilla (Annabel), Theophania (or Tiffany), Massanda, Fynea, Desiderata, Massilia, Auncelia (Celia), Godiyeva. Perhaps of all names the most popular were Lucy, Alice, Margaret, and above all Mathilda or Maud, so common amongst the Norman princesses. A queer custom regarding infants is seen in the life of St. Thomas a Becket, who was placed, when an infant, in one side of a scale, the other side being loaded with costly gifts until a sum equal to the infant's weight was reached, which was then handed over to the priest as a fee, just as to-day the god-father is accustomed to make an offering of money after baptism.

IX. Domestic Relations.—Husband and wife were mutual helpers. Woman was not a slave but the housewife and capable of conducting the establishment in the absence of her husband; she had her meals with her husband; was his constant companion at home and entertained his guests in his absence. In fact the woman of the wealthier classes occupied a position quite similar to that of a Southern matron before the war. The whole internal administration of the house fell largely into her hands. She was to look after her maidens of good degree and teach them housewifery, spinning and embroidery, to love her husband and win his love through gentleness, to see that the servants were not lazy, to keep her own

keys, to attend to the sick, finally to give what instruction she could to her children:

"And if thi children been rebel, and wol not them lowe (submit)
If any of them mysdoth, nouther banne hem ne blowe (neither curse nor scold).
But take a smert rodde and bete hem on a rowe
Til thei crie mercy: and be of her gilt aknowe."

In other words she was to spare her tongue and temper but not the rod.

Of course the father looked after the young men when they came to that age, when the latter so sorely need the advice of an old and wise head, as appears from the following counsel given in a poem of the fifteenth century by the "Wise Man to His Son." The archaic spelling is not always given here:

"And son, if thou will have a wife
Take her not for covetise,
But wisely enquire of all her life
And take heed by mine advice,
That she be meek, curteous and wise;
Though she be poor, take thou no heed,
And she will do thee more good service
Than a richer, when thou hast need.

For it is better with rest and peace
A melis meete of homely fare,
Than for to have an hundred mees (dishes)
With grumbling and with much care:
And therefore learn well this lore
If thou wilt have a wife with ease;
For riches take her never the more.
Though she would thee both feffe and cesse
(enfeoff thee with lands and goods).

* * * * *

Were people as happy in the Middle Ages as to-day? Did they enjoy the temporal goods of life with the same zest as the moderns? In answering this question one must keep in view certain preliminary notions.

1st. Earthly happiness is not something absolute, which can come to man only when placed in certain fixed conditions. It is something relative, which can gladden his heart under almost any conditions. A Laplander might be infinitely happier and therefore "better off" with his stomach gorged with whale blubber than one of our millionaires whom satiety has rendered indifferent to the most tempting delicacies collected from all climes.[1] Hence it seems unnecessary to ask if people

[1] As a thirteenth century rhymester puts it:

"Saepe vivunt gratius rebus destituti,
Sub exili tegete lateris aut luti,
Quam in regum domibus mollibus induti."

—Pol. Songs of England (Ed. T. Wright, 1839), p 35.

in the Middle Ages were as happy as we are now. They certainly could have been, and we see no reason for doubting that they actually were so. Mediæval Englishmen were doubtless happier than their descendants, since the term "Merry England" hardly chimes in with that new and ominous term descriptive of modern conditions—"Darkest England."

2d. By "modern times" we may mean either *all* the period elapsed since the close of the Middle Ages, in which case, as we shall see further on, the latter can compare even more than favorably with the former except in one or two portions; or it may be taken to denote the actually existing period, in which case it seems safe to say that although in general conditions for physical comfort are vastly more favorable now, yet on certain lines there appears very little or no improvement. In two directions particularly has there been little if any progress—in food and clothing. Apparently both poor and rich were in the past just as comfortably clothed and as well fed. As regards home amusements anyone acquainted with the life of our American poor farmer knows how utterly unartistic and dull an affair it is. On the other hand, progress has chiefly been made in the construction and furnishing of dwelling-houses. The homes of even the wealthy were formerly at best only uncomfortable abodes, while the possession of gas, electricity, carpets, spring-beds, furnaces, and a hundred other comforts makes the homes of our poor vastly more comfortable than the huts of their peers in the Middle Ages. This, in spite of the assertion of our author (II, p. 396) that the mediæval industrial classes lived in "houses better indeed than the single rooms and hovels in our large cities which many English workmen inhabit, for they could at least escape into the fresh air."

But in one respect at least we compare downright unfavorably with mediæval times, and that is in the number of our paupers and landless workmen. True, until about the black death in 1348-9 there was practically no such thing as a free English laborer. Up to that time, and in fact long after it, the laborer was bound to the soil of his lord, and worked for him as well as his own family. But such a system had the advantage of making every free man a land-owner in greater or less degree, of practically ensuring him a living, and there-

fore of bringing pauperism to such a minimum as to be easily taken care of by individual charity. With us pauperism is universally prevalent, the average workman is without an assured living, and the average farmer overwhelmed with mortgages.

3d. Lastly, if by *modern times* we mean *all* of the period elapsed since the Reformation, then it seems safe to assert that, with one or two exceptions, such as the prosperous reign of Elizabeth and these latter years of the reign of Victoria, the poorer classes of England in the Middle Ages were certainly as well and perhaps better off than their descendants. Such a statement will not surprise those who are acquainted with English history of the past three hundred years. They know very well that the extraordinary high level of material civilization is separated from an infinitely lower one by hardly more than half a century. In this short period marvelous unparalleled progress has been made in science, popular education, and physical comfort. For those who still hug the venerable myth that this progress has been uniform and steady since the loosening of those complex forces and movements known as the Reformation, a few words in support of our statement may not be altogether useless.

The fifteenth century, although an unusually prosperous period, is, nevertheless, well within the Middle Ages ; so that we are justified in taking it as an example. Now, we are told that in the reign of Henry VII "the masses of the English people were better supplied with the bare necessaries of life *than in any other reign before that of Victoria* (op. cit. II, 530), an assertion which we would naturally consider thoroughly unwarranted were not the sad story of English poverty only too well known. Its beginning is simultaneous with, and a direct result of, the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII, for when the monastic lands, which were held by tenants on the stock and land-lease system, were confiscated and transferred to the "clutches of Henry's new and needy nobility, the stock was confiscated, sold off, the rent raised ; the peasantry, as a result, were ruined and the foundations of English

pauperism successfully laid,"[1] so successfully, in fact, that even the good luck and ability of Elizabeth hardly brought back to the working classes a passing shadow of their mediæval prosperity.[2] The next two centuries witness a steady deterioration in the lot of the English laborer and artisan,[3] until, at the end of the eighteenth century, we find the laborer in a condition of chronic misery.[4] In fact a condition not above practical slavery came in, which, we may be sure, finds no counterpart in mediæval life, for with all its faults, feudalism by its very nature was the deadly enemy of slavery.

In a description of the laborer's lot in the region around Manchester in 1795, we are told that, owing to the employment of women and girls in mills they became thriftless wives and mothers, something one would look for in vain during the Middle Ages; that pauper children were regularly imported from the poorhouse into the mills, and from that moment doomed to slavery. Guarded in dark cellars until there was a demand for their work, the unhappy wretches were often forced to toil sixteen hours a day, by day and night, even on Sunday. They were given no wages, not even fed and clothed properly, confined in rooms, amidst the whirl of a thousand malodorous and overheated wheels, and forced to work by instruments of torture. They slept by turn in filthy beds, frequently without any discrimination of sexes. Those who tried to escape, or were suspected of it, had irons riveted to their ankles with long links reaching to the hip, in which chains all, young women and girls as well as boys, were compelled to sleep.[5] Such a desperate state of affairs, somewhat but not much improved, continued to the middle of the present century, within the knowledge of men yet living. As late as 1844 we read of children and young people in factories being worked and beaten like slaves, of filthy homes where people huddled together like wild beasts, of girls and women working in the mines and dragging cars in places where no horses could

[1] "Industrial History of England" by H de B. Gibbins (London, 1895, p. 84.) A very elemen tary but yet clear and sound treatise. Those who wish for more elaborate works can consult Cunningham's "Growth of English Industry," and Ashley's "English Economic History and Theory."

[2] Ib., p. 105.

[3] Ib. p. 106.

[4] Ib., p. 120.

[5] Ib., p. 178 et seq.

go, actually harnessed and crawling along like beasts of burden. "Freedom they had in name; freedom to starve and die; but not freedom to speak, still less to act, as citizens of a free state."[1]

With such overwhelming evidence before us, can we with any degree of accuracy assert that, taken as a whole, modern England in the three centuries of her existence has possessed a happier, more comfortable class of poor (the majority of the population of course) than did mediæval England, in spite of the latter's inexperience in the path of progress.

Far be it from us in these days to look with yearning eyes back to those ages and mourn over the passing of the "good old days." Nevertheless, even the most extravagant admirer of modern civilization will forbear to launch unreserved criticism upon a past age, when he recalls that universal education is largely a product of the last fifty or seventy-five years, that the echoes of the suffering white slaves of the English mining districts are yet lingering in the ears of men still living, that the English prison at the end of the last century had a striking similarity to the castles filled of old with "devils," that only about twenty per cent. of the American people avow themselves church-goers, while the London poor were, until the advent of the Salvation Army, in a condition of absolute religious neglect, that within this century political liberty meant, in England, the caprice of a landed aristocracy, and that a spirit of unrest and discontent is rife amongst the poorer classes in almost every civilized nation.

Let us put ourselves in imagination amid the difficulties then besetting the evolution of a renascent civilization, and we can then not refuse a tribute of admiration to the indomitable pluck with which mediæval Englishmen met and, to a large extent, overcame them. Those were truly the ages of faith, not merely of faith in God and his Church, but as well in the natural capacity of man to throw off the shackles which bound him, Prometheus-like, to the rock of despair. In this sense, therefore, "the observation of a well-known modern writer on art, in noting the inability of the Middle Ages to see things as

[1] Ib., pp. 192-93.

they really were, and the tendency to substitute on the parchment or the canvas conventional for actual forms, has a drift which he did not perceive. In itself unquestionably this defect is a real one, but in practice it possessed a counterbalancing advantage by supplying the necessary corrective to that bare literalism and realism which, in the long run, is fatal no less to sustained effort than it is to art."[1]

LUCIAN JOHNSTON.

[1] "The Great Pestilence," by Francis Aidan Gasquet, p. 217.

PRIMITIVE EPISCOPAL ELECTIONS—II.[1]

While the Church in the East, almost from the beginning of the Christian Roman Empire, was engaged in defending her liberty against the civil power, and the orthodox faith against heretical innovations, the West, more fortunate in its rulers, and practical rather than theoretic in its tendencies, was scarcely affected by the change from persecution to prosperity.

Rome and Italy.

The emperors of the West, with few exceptions, declined to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs. Valentinian I merely congratulated the Romans on the election of Pope Siricius;[2] and when asked on another occasion to designate a bishop for the city of Milan he replied that not to him but to those specially favored by God's grace pertained that duty.[3]

In Italy bishops were chosen by the metropolitan on the recommendation of the clergy and the people. The earliest reference to the election of a bishop in that country is contained in a letter of St. Cyprian from which we learn that Pope Cornelius was made bishop by the votes of a majority of the Roman clergy and people.[4] Whether the bishops of the

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[1] In the preparation of this dissertation I have made constant use of the Acts of the Councils, both in Harduin and Mansi, as well as in Hefele's History of the Councils; of the Liber Pontificalis, the Liber Diurnus, the Pseudo-Isidoran Decretals (ed. Hinschius, Leipzig, 1863), Jaffé's Regesta RR. PP. (2d ed.), the "Monumenta Germaniae Historica," and Pitra's "Monumenta Juris Ecclesiastici Graecorum (Rome, 1869). Of the earlier fathers, the most useful has been Saint Cyprian (ed. Hartel, Vienna, 1871). I have been constantly indebted to the great works of Bingham, The Antiquities of the Christian Church, (Oxford, 1855), Thomassin, Vetus et Nova Ecclesiae disciplina circa beneficia, etc., (Venice, 1773), Bianchi, Polizia della Chiesa (Turin, 1859), Phillips, Kirchenrecht (Regensburg, 1855-69), De Marca, De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii (Naples, 1771). The following books and articles have been of great use for special points: De Broglie, L'Eglise et L'Empire au Quatrième Siècle (Paris, 1860 sqq), Löning, Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechts, (Strasburg, 1875), Hauck, Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands (Leipzig, 1887 sqq), De la Tour, Imbart, Les Elections Episcopales sous les Carolingiens, (Paris, 1890) Diehl, Etudes sur l'administration Byzantine (Paris, 1888), Bayet, Les Elections Episcopales sous les Carolingiens, (*Revue des Questions Historiques*. January, 1884), Duchesne, Vigile et Pelage (ibid., 1884.) Funk, Die Bischofswahl im Christlichen Alterthum und im Anfang des Mittelalters, K. G. Abhdlgen, I, pp. 22-39. cf. Bulletin, Oct. 1897, pp. 404-420.

[2] Valent. Ep. II (ap. Constant. Epp. RR. PP.)

[3] Theodoret, H. E., IV. 6

[4] Ep. LV. 9 (Ed. Hartel) "Episcopatum non exambitum nec extortum, sed de Dei qui sacerdotes facit voluntate susceptum." See Bulletin, Oct. '97, p. 408.

suburbicarian sees, three of whom were privileged to consecrate the bishop of Rome, took any prominent part thus early in papal elections, is uncertain. In the interval between the death of a pope and the election of his successor, the Holy See was administered by the archdeacon, the archpriest, and the primicerius.[1] As early as the third century the Roman clergy were looked upon as the highest executive body in the Church, but it does not appear that the neighboring bishops shared their authority.[2]

Up to the fourth century the Roman bishop was sole metropolitan of all Italy. Milan and Aquileia were then elevated to the dignity of metropolitan cities, and, in the following century, Ravenna. The metropolitans of the two former cities were allowed to consecrate one another, as occasion demanded.[3] The bishop of Ravenna was consecrated by the Pope.[4] It is worthy of note that at a time when the eastern bishops were engaged in combating lay influence, their western brethren, so far from following their example, allowed the people, especially the more prominent among them, still greater privileges than they had yet enjoyed in the appointment of bishops.

The earliest indication of the increased powers of the laity is in a letter of Pope Siricius (384-398). Bishops, he says, are to be appointed according to his and the people's judgment.[5] Pope Zosimus (417-418) sent a similar decree to the bishops of Gaul,[6] and Celestinus I (422-432) enacted that, "no one may become bishop of a church whose members are unwilling to receive him. The consent of the clergy, of the *ordo* and people is necessary.[7] Under the pontificate of Leo the Great (440-461) this mode of electing bishops became firmly established. When the clergy and the people were unanimous in their choice of a candidate, he must be preferred to all others. Should the votes

[1] At least from the beginning of the seventh century. V. Liber Diurnus, No. LIX. (Ed. De Roziere.)

[2] St. Cyprian, ep. VIII.

[3] Pelagius I. ad Johann. Patricium, Jaffé, Regesta RR. PP. 983 ; Mansi, IX, 730.

[4] Liber Pontif, (ed. Duchesne) I. P. 360.

[5] Plebis et nostro judicio comprobari. Jaffé l. c. 386. Cfr Hinschius: Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae, Lipsiae, 1863.

[6] Migne P. L. XX. 642, 674.

[7] Nullus invitus detur episcopus; cleri, plebis, et ordinis consensus et desiderium requiratur. Jaffé, 369.

be divided the metropolitan decides, but even here he was restricted. A candidate obnoxious to the people became thereby ineligible, and the metropolitan was forbidden to choose such an one lest the people despise or hate their bishop.[1]

An official peculiar to the West and in an especial manner to Italy, was the *Visitator*. He was usually the bishop of a diocese adjoining the vacant see, appointed by the Pope or metropolitan to act as provisional administrator, and to preside at the election of a new bishop. When the decree of election was made out and signed by the electors, the *Visitator* forwarded it to the metropolitan, together with his own report, and awaited the issue.[2]

The papal instructions referred to assign no part to the suffragan bishops, and apparently they did not participate in the election of their colleagues. The metropolitan was the central figure and sole judge of the candidate's fitness, and not till the consecration, at which they assisted, do the suffragans appear.

When a metropolitan was to be elected the procedure was different. The remaining bishops of the province, united in synod, took the place of the metropolitan in regard to the candidate's nomination. The one selected, however, had to be confirmed by the pope in Italy, and by the exarch or primate in other parts of the Roman patriarchate.[3]

Apart from the Roman See, details relative to the election of bishops in Italy are not numerous. However, by comparing those texts which, in the letters of popes, give directions on this matter, we find substantially the same discipline in the fifth century under Leo the Great, and in the seventh under Gregory the Great.[4]

In Rome, where so many interests were dependent on the bishop, it was to be expected that, from time to time, modifications would be introduced. The bishop of Rome, in addition to his dignity as Head of Christendom, was, since the fall

[1] Cum ergo de summi sacerdotis electione tractabitur, ille omnibus praeponatur quem cleri plebisque consensus concorditer postularit. Leo M. ep. XIV. c. 5. (Migne P. L. LIV. p. 673). Cf. ep. X c. 6.

[2] Pelag. I ap. Mansi IX. 733; Greg. M. Epp. II. 25, 39, 43.

[3] Leo M. ep. XIV c. 6; Greg. M. Epp. II, 25, 39, 43.

[4] Compare the preceding references with Greg. M. Epp. V, 25, 26; II 16, 25, 37, 39.

of the western empire, the chief personage in Italy. In the period of panic following the downfall of Roman rule, the western bishops and clergy were everywhere staunch defenders of their people and of civilization; chief among them ranked the popes. Even under the exarchate, the imperial deputies were often reluctantly forced to rely on their support, and there is little doubt that, at any time from the reign of Justinian (527–565) to that of Constantine Copronymus (741–755), without the moral support of the Roman bishops the degenerate East Romans would have been unable to retain their hold in Italy. The importance of the papacy then having been so great, it is not surprising to meet occasionally in the period under review indications of a clash of interests. It would be, indeed, matter for wonder if there were not evidences of the kind, and the rarity of their occurrence shows the great influence which the Church exercised over all classes.

Outside the two disputed elections of Cornelius and Callistus, no other difficulties are known to have occurred in papal elections before the succession of Constantius to the undivided empire (350). This prince favored the Arians and Pope Liberius, for his refusal to adapt his theology in accordance with the views of the imperial theologians, was expelled from Rome and remained three years in exile.[1] Meanwhile the Archdeacon Felix, who, with the rest of the Roman ecclesiastics, had sworn to remain faithful to his bishop, had himself consecrated and received the support of the clergy. But the people were more loyal, and succeeded after a time in forcing the emperor to restore Liberius.[2] The election of Damasus was also, for a short period, disputed, but as the majority of the clergy and laity supported him, his competitor Ursicinus was exiled by the Emperor Valentinian I.[3]

The next contested election occurred in the year 418, and was due apparently to the ambition of the Roman deacons. From the days of the Apostles the influence of the deacons had been always great; as the Church increased in numbers the importance of their order grew in proportion. This was

[1] Sozom. H. E., IV. II; Athanas. Hist. Arian, ad monach. c. 40, 75.

[2] Cfr. Migne P. L. XXVII p. 683; XIII p. 81.

[3] Lib. Pontif. I., 212; Soc. II, 27; IV, 29.

especially the case after the middle of the third century. With the spread of the Church outside the city of Rome, the priests, who up to this time usually lived with the bishop, began to reside within the limits of the new parishes. Their parochial duties naturally had the first claim on their attention, and so, gradually, they lost their standing as councillors of the bishop, and knew little about the administration of the diocese.[1] The primary duty of the deacons, on the other hand, was to look after the temporal possessions of the Church, and they were thus brought into intimate relations with the bishop. They were the eye and the ear of the bishop—the executors of his commands.[2] The archdeacon, in particular, was the bishop's *alter ego*, and exercised a jurisdiction nearly corresponding to that of vicars-general today.

Another result of their close relations to the bishop was that they were always well known to the community, especially to the prominent Christians, and later to the civil authorities. In those days when the *honorati*, or distinguished citizens, and the people exercised considerable influence on ecclesiastical affairs, it was but natural that, when a bishop was to be elected, the deacon's claims would receive far greater attention than those, however strong, of a priest who was little known outside his own parish.

In the Roman Church previous to the date at which we have arrived, almost all bishops were elevated from the ranks of the deacons ; but the ambition of this order aroused so strong an opposition among the priests that for a long time a bitter war for supremacy was carried on between the two orders. The twentieth canon of the council of Laodicea forbids a deacon to sit in presence of a priest without the latter's permission, and this prohibition is but the renewal of a still more ancient one.[3]

In the early part of the fifth century the power of the Roman deacons seems to have been on the decline. For, after the death of Pope Zosimus (418), led by the archdeacon Eulalius and supported by partisans, they seized the Lateran basilica,

[1] Though taking no very active part in administrative affairs the influence of the Roman priests in matters of doctrine was always great. St. Cypr. Ep. IX.

[2] Apost. Constit. II, c. 30, sqq., 53 (ap. Pitra, Jus eccles. Graecor, I. 178 sqq. and 207.)

[3] Ap. Const. II, c. 57.

and, excluding the priests with the exception of a few favorable to their pretensions, elected Eulalius bishop. Meanwhile the priests elected Boniface, who was consecrated in presence of nine bishops. The prefect of Rome, Symmachus, supported Eulalius, but on the appeal of Boniface to the Emperor Honorius, both claimants were set aside until a council could decide on their titles. Eulalius, however, disregarded an imperial order forbidding both parties to celebrate Easter at Rome, and was, in consequence, expelled, while his rival was acknowledged as legitimate bishop.[1]

But the supporters of Eulalius, though defeated for the moment, did not give up the contest. A year after his election Boniface was seized with a grave illness, and, anticipating his death, parties began to agitate. The pope recovered unexpectedly and perceiving the gravity of the situation, solicited the emperor to adopt measures for the prevention of a schism after his death.[2] Honorius responded by a law which declared that, in the event of a double election, both competitors were to be set aside, and only he who was unanimously elected should be recognized as bishop.[3]

Celestine, the successor of Boniface, was, according to St. Augustine, elected without opposition, and the Liber Pontificalis bears him out so far that it makes no mention of any want of unanimity.[4] Still this accord could hardly have been quite complete, for a law of Valentinian III threatens with severe penalties those who separate themselves from communion with this pope.[5]

From this time to the last quarter of the fifth century papal elections were carried on regularly; but with the Ostrogoth kings the ideas of Constantinople for the first time appear in the West. Odoacer, through his pretorian prefect, Basilius, forbade the Romans to elect a bishop without his confirmation.[6] His successor Theodoric presumed to send a *Visitator* to Rome in order to examine into the charges preferred against Pope

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[1] Baronius. Ann. 418-419; cfr. Lib. Pont. I, p. 228, note 1.
[2] Jaffé 353.
[3] Cfr. Can. Victor D. 97.
[4] St. Aug. ep. CCIX.; L. P. I. 230.
[5] Qui pravis suasionibus a venerabilis papae sese communione suspendunt, quorum schismate plebs etiam reliqua vitiatur. Cod. Theod. XVI, v. 62.
[6] Hard. II. p. 977.

Symmachus (498-514) by the senators Festus and Probinus.[1] This interference, however, must be attributed to the imprudent action of the Romans, who, a little previously, had selected Theodoric as umpire to decide a contested election. The circumstances were as follows: After the death of Pope Anastasius II (498), the emperor Zeno commissioned Festus to procure the election of a pope favorably inclined towards his instrument of union called the *Henoticon*. The archpriest Laurence was found to lean towards the views of Zeno, and, on that account, received the support of Festus. The majority, however, declared for Symmachus. Both parties appealed to Theodoric, who decided in favor of the latter.[2] Symmachus reigned four years without opposition, when a schism headed by Festus and Probinus, broke out. The Pope was charged with various crimes, and a second appeal to Theodoric was the result. A *Visitator* was sent to Rome by him to investigate the charges, and this official having sided with the schismatics, four years of disorder ensued. Theodoric then interfered directly and Laurence was finally ejected.[3]

In a synod held at Rome in 502 the pretensions put forward by Odoacer a quarter of a century previous, were repudiated.[4] Three years earlier another synod, under the same pope, took measures to prevent further appeals to secular princes, and, as far as possible, obviate the danger of a future schism. To this end the decree of the Emperor Honorius, already referred to, was substantially adopted, and thus became a law of the Church. Henceforth a majority of the votes of the clergy was to be decisive.[5]

Felix IV (526–530) was elected by command of King Theodoric.[6] Before his death, Felix, it appears, designated his successor in the person of the Archdeacon Boniface, and by this act precipitated the danger he meant to avert. Vigorous protests

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[1] L. P. I. 260.

[2] Theod. Lect. II. 17 (Migne P. G. LXXXVI p. 192 sq.); L. P. I. p. 260.

[3] L. P. I. 260 sq. cfr. note 10 p. 264.

[4] Hard. II, c. 1, 2, p. 917.

[5] Mansi, VIII, 232.

[6] Ex jussu Theodorici, cfr. L. P. I. 280, n. 5. Athalaric, the successor of Theodoric, congratulated the Roman senators on their obedience in this matter. Cassiodor. Varior. VIII, 15.

were made on all sides against a course so uncanonical.[1] Sixty priests, and very probably a proportionately large number of the *honorati* and people, elected Dioscorus. In the Roman council of 499, sixty-seven priests were present, so we may conclude that the number of that order who adhered to Boniface was not great. Fortunately for the peace of the Church, Dioscorus died twenty-three days after his election, and Boniface was reluctantly acknowledged as pope.[2] This pope was the first, unfortunately not the last, among the successors of St. Peter, who resorted to the undignified and unchristian revenge of anathematizing the memory of a man who, were it not for his sudden death, would probably be reckoned among the bishops of Rome.[3]

Regardless alike of the warning conveyed by his own designation and of the true interest of the Church, Boniface appointed the deacon Vigilius his successor; but the vigorous opposition of the clergy compelled him to revoke the decree of nomination, which he himself publicly burned.[4]

The hopes of Vigilius were for the moment blighted, but a few years later, another opportunity of reaching the papal throne presented itself. Pope Agapitus (535–536) was accompanied on his journey to Constantinople by Vigilius, who soon became a special favorite of the Empress Theodora. The Monophysites had no more staunch and powerful supporter than the empress, and, after the death of Agapitus, she conceived the design of placing one favorable to her tenets in the chair of St. Peter. Vigilius was the candidate of her choice, and, blinded by ambition, he was profuse in promises. Furnished with letters to Belisarius, he returned to Italy, but found Silverius, who had been appointed by Theodoric, occupying the place he had hoped to fill. Silverius, however, was soon got rid of. Charges were made out and preferred against him, and he expiated in exile the weakness which made him accept his own uncanonical election. Vigilius immediately assumed his place.[5]

[1] Can. Ap. LXXVI (ap. Hefele I, p. 823); Syn. Antioch. In encaeniis Can. 23.

[2] L. P. I. 281.

[3] For text of condemnation cfr. L. P. I. 282. n. 8.

[4] L. P. I. 281. Cf. Holder, Die Designation der Nachfolger durch die Päpste, Freiburg, 1892, pp. 28–41.

[5] Liberat. Brev. 22 (Migne P. L. LXVIII, 1039); L. P. I. 290, 292 sq.

The Byzantine conquest of Italy was, to say the least, of no advantage to ecclesiastical discipline in that country. The right of confirming papal elections was immediately assumed,[1] and a sum of money exacted in return for the imperial assent.[2] However, owing to the weakness of the exarchate and the strength of the Roman Church, imperial confirmation was little more than a matter of form. It was a concession somewhat akin to the modern right of exclusion against any particular cardinal allowed to some European sovereigns. It may be suspected even that the election tax was the most important part of the privilege. The straits to which the exarchs were sometimes reduced for want of money are evident from occasional references in the Liber Pontificalis to the manner in which their exchequer was replenished.[3] No notice of elections is made by the author of the Liber Pontificalis from Pelagius II (1-590) to Benedict II (684-685), and since he never fails to mention disputes or departures from the regular mode of elections, we may safely conclude that in the intermediate period Roman bishops were elected in the usual manner.

In the life of Benedict a new electoral factor appears. A letter addressed by the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus to the clergy, people, and army (exercitus Romanus) at Rome, dispensed with the usual imperial confirmation. The *Exercitus Romanus*, a sort of militia organized for the defence of the city,[4] is first referred to in the life of Pope Severinus, and in a manner by no means creditable to it.[5] Henceforward we shall see its members exercising considerable influence on Italian affairs, and occasionally in Roman elections. Italians by birth[6] and sympathy, they had little affection for the Byzantine, and on this account they had no small share in rendering nugatory the attempts of the latter to enslave the Roman Church.

Whether the *divales jussiones* of Constantine Pogonatus

[1] L. P. I. 309, Pelagius II. (579-590) was ordained *absque jussione principis*, because at the time Rome was besieged by the Lombards.

[2] This tax was dispensed with by Constantine Pogonatus on the demand of Pope Agatho. L. P. I. 354.

[3] L. P. I. 328 and 372.

[4] Cfr. Diehl: Etudes sur l'administration Byzantine, Paris, 1888.

[5] Led by the Cartularius Mauritius they plundered the Lateran basilica. L. P. I. 328.

[6] Such is the opinion of Duchesne, L. P. 1. 329, note 1.

restored absolute electoral freedom or merely transferred to the exarch the right of confirmation, is uncertain.[1] The election of John V (685–686) seems to have been entirely free[2]; but that of his successor, Conon, was made known, *ut mos est*, to the exarch.[3] Conon was not chosen without opposition. The clergy at first elected the archpriest Peter, and the army a priest named Theodorus. Negotiations carried on for some time between the two parties proved fruitless, and the clergy, thereupon, with the *primates exercitus*,[4] united on Conon. The soldiers after a few days tendered their submission to the new pontiff.

The following year Theodorus again appears as an aspirant to the pontifical throne, but with new supporters. On this occasion the people were divided into two factions, one of which chose Theodorus, the other Paschalis. The clergy, however, with the "*primates judicum et exercitus Romani militiae*" ignored both candidates and elected Sergius.[5] Paschalis, thereupon, induced the exarch, John Platyn, by the promise of a large sum of money, to interfere in his behalf; but finding all parties now in favor of Sergius, Platyn was content to extort from the legitimate pope the gold promised by the pretender, and took his departure.[6]

Thus the Roman Church, with little variation in its discipline, reached the end of the seventh century. During this period, however, some of the consequences of Byzantine occupation and of Byzantine heresy, may be gathered from occasional hints in the Liber Pontificalis, and from other sources more or less reliable.

Ravenna, as we have seen, was erected (430) into a metropolitan see, and about the same time (433–450) had as bishop the eloquent Peter Chrysologus. As a metropolitan see, however, Ravenna was one of an unique kind. Its suffragan dio-

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[1] Duchesne, L. P. I. 364, n. 4, holds the latter opinion; Phillips, Kirchenrecht V. 758 and De Rozière, Liber Diurnus P. XIX, the former.

[2] L. P. I. 366 [3] Ibid, 368,

[4] L. P., I. 368. "Omnes judices una cum primatibus exercitus pariter ad ejus salutationem venientes." The terms *judices* and *primatus exercitus* are not to be taken in their literal signification. They were applied vaguely to various Byzantine officials. Cfr. Diehl, op. cit., p. 313 sq.

[5] L. P. I. 371. [6] L. P. I. 372.

ceses were detached from the Milanese province, but over the bishops in its immediate neighborhood it had no jurisdiction. Moreover, as one of the suburbicarian sees, it was itself suffragan to Rome, and its bishop was confirmed and consecrated by the pope.[1]

While Ravenna remained an ordinary Italian city this subjection of its bishops caused no difficulty; but after it had become the capital of the exarchate, eastern ideas of independence and the haughty tone of the patriarchs of Constantinople were speedily caught by its prelates.

The first symptom of rebellion appears in the refusal of Maurus of Ravenna to attend a Roman Council (649) under Pope Martin. Later on (666) the same bishop obtained from the emperor the privilege of being autocephalous, that is, free from the metropolitan authority of Rome.[2] His successor was, therefore, consecrated by three of his suffragans, but according to the Liber Pontificalis, he afterwards renounced the pretended privilege.[3] It was finally withdrawn by the imperial authority at the instance of Pope Leo II (682-683). Damianus was, as of old, consecrated at Rome by Pope Sergius (687-701), and Felix by Pope Constantine (708-715).[4] The latter, however, refused to sign the *cautio*, a document which suburbicarian bishops had to subscribe after their consecration.[5] His pride was afterwards humbled by the Emperor Justinian II who had his eyes put out.[6]

The city of Aquileia which had fallen under the power of the Lombards in 568, had also, during the seventh century, frequent quarrels with the popes. A schism arose (557) on the occasion of the condemnation of the famous Three Chapters, which was extinguished in part under Pope Honorius (625-638), but did not entirely disappear till the reign of Sergius I (687-701).[7]

From the beginning of the eighth century to the year 767, no

[1] Cfr. L. P. I., c. XXIX, note 1.

[2] Mon. Germ. Scrip. Longob. p. 349.

[3] L. P. I. 348. Agnellus denies this but contradicts himself by saying that Reparatus decreed: "Ut in tempore consecrationis non plus quam octo dies Roma electus moram invertat." Ibid. p. 349, note 5.

[4] L. P. I. pp. 376 and 389.

[5] L. P. I. 389, cfr. p. 393, n. 2.

[6] l. c.

[7] L. P. I. 323 and 376.

difficulties seem to have arisen with regard to the election of the popes. At the latter date, however, an event took place which, in the light of after occurrences, may be regarded as foreshadowing that enslavement of the papacy which produced such bad results in the ninth and tenth centuries.

During the last illness of Pope Paul I (757-767), a certain Toto, duke of Nepi, with his brothers, Passivus and Paschalis, attempted to capture Rome, with the intention of putting the pope to death and placing their brother Constantine in the papal chair. Failure attended their first efforts, but a second endeavor was more successful and Constantine was installed in the place of Paul who, in the meantime, had died. Constantine remained a year in possession of his usurped honors before he was expelled by the Lombards. The advantage to the Church was, however, at first merely a change of masters; for the Lombards endeavored to intrude a monk named Philip into the papal chair. The attempt was frustrated by the courage and skill of the Primicerius Christopher, and, in a general assembly of the clergy and people, the Romans again upheld their ancient right of free election by the unanimous choice of Stephen III (768-772).[1]

A curious fact in the history of papal elections is the succession, during the latter part of the seventh, and thence on to the middle of the eighth century, of several popes of Eastern origin. The series begins with John V (685), who was followed by Conon, a Thracian; Sergius, a Syrian; John VI and John VII, Greeks; Sisinnius and Constantine, Syrians. An interruption was caused by the election of Gregory II (715–731), a Roman, but from the latter date to the year 752 the Roman Church was ruled by Gregory III, a Syrian, and Zachary, a Greek.

To account for an occurrence so uncommon, it has been conjectured that during this period the influence of the exarchs was paramount. This hypothesis, however, is not supported by facts. For had the imperial deputies been of so great weight in Roman affairs, we would naturally expect to find subserviency in the popes chosen by their instrumentality. This is far

[1] L. P. I. 468 sqq; Mansi XII. 717.

from being the case. The first two of the series reigned but a year each. Sergius (687–781) refused to confirm the Trullan synod, and when, in obedience to the imperial order, the Protospatharius, Zacharias, proceeded to arrest the pope, in order to send him prisoner to Constantinople, the latter was defended by the Italian militia. Zacharias escaped the vengeance of the soldiers only by the intercession of Sergius.[1] John VI (701–705) was also threatened by another exarch, but, like his predecessor, he interfered to save the life of the imperial officers.[2] John VII (705–707), Sisinnius (708), and Constantine (708–715), notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear on them, also refused to sanction the Trullan synod. Gregory III (731–741) was as staunch an opponent of Leo the Isaurian and iconoclasm as the Roman Gregory II (715–731)[3], and Zacharias, the last pope of Eastern origin, followed in the footsteps of his predecessors.

A more natural explanation of the election of orientals may be had in their superior qualifications for the papal office. The Eastern ecclesiastics, at this period, were far in advance of their Western brethren in theological knowledge. Since the fall of the Western Empire the Latins were constantly engaged in defending themselves against barbarian incursions, and consequently learning declined. Nor did the establishment of the exarchate leave the popes free from temporal cares. The government of the Byzantine rulers was always weak and unable to cope with the warlike Lombards. Gregory the Great complains that he was as much bishop of these latter as of the Romans, from the fact that their restless activity brought them repeatedly to the gates of Rome in search of plunder.[4] Such a state of things was not favorable to the advancement of learning.

The colony of orientals on the other hand grew steadily. Orthodox bishops, priests, and inferior ecclesiastics, flying before Mussulman invasion or imperial persecution for the faith of which Rome was the strongest bulwark, naturally directed their footsteps to the center of Christendom. The result was that Greek was as commonly spoken in Rome as Latin. Pope

[1] L. P. I. 373, no. 161.
[2] L. P. I. 383, no. 165.
[3] L. P I. 415, no. 140.
[4] Greg. M. Ep. I. 31.

Leo II was acquainted with both tongues, and Sergius, John VII, and Gregory III were especially noted for their learning. The constant intercourse, too, with the Byzantine functionaries demanded a bilingual pope, and such men were at hand in the many monasteries of eastern monks established at Rome.[1]

These conditions are sufficient to account for the line of eastern popes, whose election conferred honor alike on East and West; on the former for the manner in which they upheld the traditions of the Roman Church; on the latter for choosing men irrespective of nationality, in whom they recognized superior capabilities for the defence of the Church against Byzantine treachery or sophistry.

Gaul.

The earliest references to episcopal elections in Gaul date from the fifth century. A letter of Pope Celestine I (422-432) to the bishops of the provinces of Vienne and Narbonne I and II, declares that the consent of the clergy, the people, and the *ordo*, or more prominent members of the community, is required for the valid election of a bishop.[2] Leo the Great (440-461) and Hilarius (461-468) issued decrees to the same effect.[3] During the Gallo-Roman period the part taken by the metropolitan corresponded with that of the popes in Italy. His was the final *Judicium*. The *Visitator* was also designated by him.[4]

Under the Merovingian kings these privileges, while nominally in existence, were generally ignored; and the metropolitan's share in the appointment of his suffragans consisted in the consecration of the royal candidate.[5]

From the papal decrees referred to, it is evident that the part taken in elections by the Christian community was as great in Roman Gaul as in Italy. The results were not always edifying, either in the candidates chosen, or in the manner of choosing, as we learn from a writer who is our chief authority on this subject.

Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont (472–488), relates

[1] For an account of these monasteries see Diehl op. cit. p. 254.
[2] Jaffé Reg. RR. PP. no. 369.
[3] Op. cit. 434, 556.
[4] Op. cit. 764; Hinschius, "Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae," Lipsiae, 1863. p. 657.
[5] Formulae Marculfi I, 5, 6, ap. Mon. Germ. Hist., ed. Trumer.

the history of an election which took place in the city of Bourges, at a time when he was the only bishop left in the province, his colleagues having fallen into the hands of the Visigoths. Notwithstanding the fact that a like fate threatened them, unanimity was far from existing among the citizens. Two benches were not enough to contain the numerous aspirants for episcopal honors. Bribery was the chief reliance of each,[1] but as no one could procure a majority of votes, all at length agreed to make Sidonius sole elector.

Accepting the responsibility, Sidonius took the opportunity of addressing the audience, and in eloquent discourse portrayed the evils attendant on popular election. "If we name a monk," he began, "were he comparable to Paul, Antony, Hilary, or Macarius, we shall immediately hear resounding in our ears the murmurs of a crowd of ignorant pigmies who cry: 'He whom he has chosen fulfils the office of an abbot, not of a bishop; he is much more fitted to intercede for souls before the celestial judge than for the life of the body before judges of this world.' . . . If we choose an humble man he will be called vile and abject; if we propose one of an ardent character, he is proud; if we take a man of small learning, his ignorance is a subject of ridicule. If, on the contrary, he is learned, that, too, is a reproach, as making him haughty. Is he severe, he is hated as cruel; indulgent, he is weak; and further, the people in their obstinacy, the clergy in their indocility, will with difficulty submit to the ecclesiastical discipline."[2] The result of such a state of things was that the bishops, at times, were compelled to wholly exclude clergy and people, and themselves elect their colleagues.[3]

The abuses of this period were not only continued under the Merovingians, but new and most serious ones were superadded. In this respect the Arian kings of Burgundy (413-534) were much more favorable to the maintenance of discipline than the greater number of the first line of Frankish kings.[4]

[1] Bribery was at that time very common in Gallic elections, v. Edict Glycerii ad Himeleon March 10, 473, ap. Phillips-Vering VIII, 237, no. 6.

[2] Sid. Apol. ep. VIII, 9 (Migne P. L. LVIII, 575.)

[3] Id. ibid. p 531, ep. IV.

[4] King Gundrioch of Burgundy complained to Pope Hilary that Archbishop Mamertus of Vienna had consecrated a bishop for the city of Die which belonged to the province of Arles. Jaffé, 556.

In Gaul, as in Italy, the western emperors permitted electoral freedom; Clovis, on the other hand, was no sooner baptized than he assumed the right, not merely of confirmation, but of direct appointment, or regulation of elections, whenever he chose to do so. St. Waast was consecrated bishop of Arras by his order; St. Eptadius was, through his influence, made bishop of Auxerre; and on the occasion of an election at Verdun, the clergy and people were convened by the royal officers, a procedure which usually resulted in the presentation of the king's candidate who was rarely, if ever, rejected.[1]

The sons of Clovis, Theodoric and Childebert, followed the example of their father. The fiction of an election, similar to that of the Anglican church to-day, was still gone through; the real choice was made by the civil authorities.[2] Lest the clergy and people, however, might presume to claim the right of choosing their bishop, a second uncanonical practice was introduced. It was an ancient custom in the Church, repeatedly confirmed by synods, that the bishop should be elected and consecrated in his cathedral city. Theodoric violated this law by permitting a bishop of Clermont, nominated by him, to be consecrated at Treves.[3] Theodobald, king of Austrasia, granted a like privilege to another bishop of the same see.[4] The metropolitan's right of appointing the *Visitator*, and, in case of a disputed election, deciding the matter at issue, was also usurped by the king.[5]

Great as was the actual power of the Frankish kings over the Church within their dominion, it did not receive any legal sanction for almost a century after the baptism of Clovis. The second, third, and fourth councils of Orleans (533, 538, 541) enacted laws for the regulation of elections, but the royal prerogatives in the matter were ignored.[6] What the sentiments of the Gallic bishops really were on the subject of civil appointments to ecclesiastical benefices, we learn from a canon of the third council of Paris (557). This council, held in the reign of Childebert, a monarch well disposed to the maintenance of

[1] Acta SS. Feb. I. 792; July 28, V 76.
[2] Greg. Tur. Vita Patr. VI, 3.
[3] Op. cit. l. c.
[4] Greg. Tur. H. F. IV. 7.
[5] Vita Sulpicii c. 12 (Mabillon Acta S.S. II. 178).
[6] The right of confirmation was however, recognized by the fifth council of Orleans (549) in its tenth canon. Mansi IX. 126.

good discipline, decreed that bishops should be elected by the clergy and people. No one may, by the prince's command, or in any other manner against the will of the clergy and people, be made bishop. And should anyone presume to accept an uncanonical appointment, the bishops are forbidden to receive him as a colleague.[1]

The best results were to be expected from the enforcement of this law, but as that depended on the will of the king, it soon, like similar previous laws, fell into disuse. A decade after the date of the council, it was violated by Clotaire I, who appointed Eumerius bishop of Xaintes. After Clotaire's death Eumerius was deposed by a provincial synod and a certain Heraclius chosen to succeed him. Heraclius thereupon set out to obtain the royal confirmation, but in place of it he was mounted on a car filled with thorns, and in this pleasant manner journeyed into exile. Eumerius was restored, and the bishops who deposed him were subjected to a heavy fine.[2]

A council held at Paris in 614 renewed the electoral canons of preceding synods,[3] and these were approved by Clotaire II, but with amendments. If a bishop be taken from the palace, the king added, he shall be ordained because of his personal merit and learning.[4] That is to say, whenever the king wishes to reward a favorite court chaplain, the superior qualifications, in the royal eyes, of such a person, entitle him to the next vacant bishopric. As an example, we find the king's treasurer, Desiderius, appointed some years later to the see of Cahors.

Among the evil results of royal nominations one of the worst was the systematic purchase of episcopal sees. The extensive civil authority conferred on bishops by the Roman law was confirmed by the Merovingian kings. Great estates, too, were usually attached to every diocese for the maintenance of the incumbent. Two such inducements, wealth and power, would be likely in any age to arouse the cupidity of the unscrupulous; and the Franks were by no means wanting in the ordinary failings of human nature. In fact, avarice was, perhaps, their chief weakness.

A concomitant abuse to that of simony was the transmission, in noble families, of certain sees from one member to another.

[1] Mansi IX. 746, can. 8.
[2] Greg. Tur. H. F. IV, 26.
[3] Mansi X, 540, can. 2.
[4] Per meritum personae et doctrinae. Ibid.

Gregory of Tours boasts that, with the exception of five, all his predecessors belonged to his family.[1] In Rhodez we see grandson succeed grandfather, and a certain Chronopius, bishop of Perigueux, also received his see by way of inheritance.[2]

While it can hardly be concluded that this mode of transmission would generally lead to the elevation of unworthy incumbents; yet, when restricted to a single family, it is obvious that the convenience of that family would be a much greater consideration than the selection of one who would do honor to the office.

We have already seen that simony was not unknown in the latter days of the Western Empire, but at that period it was confined chiefly to promises made by ambitious aspirants. Under the Merovingians it assumed a more businesslike character. According to Gregory of Tours, it was practised as early as the reigns of Clovis' sons. Theodoric I (511–534) sold episcopal sees, and found purchasers among the clergy.[3] A Syrian merchant was able to buy the bishopric of Paris.[4] King Gunthram, who endeavored to check the abuse, was not always able to refrain from it.[5] The decrees of councils[6] were fruitless because not enforced. In the time of Gregory the Great it had grown to such an extent that scarcely an individual, he tells us, was elevated to sacred orders but by simoniacal means.[7] Gregory's efforts in the cause of free and pure elections were tireless, but in Gaul little success awaited them.[8] Queen Brunechild, on whose aid he relied, was notorious for her traffic in ecclesiastical benefices ; and if she did not always receive compensation in money, her appointments were sometimes the gratification of a whim.[9]

Occasionally a ruler appeared more zealous for the Church's interests than the average. Gunthram belonged to this class.[10] Dagobert I and Queen Bathildis followed in his footsteps[11] and

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[1] H. F. V. 49. Polycrates of Ephesus, cited by Eusebius, makes a similar boast.
[2] Migne P. L. LXXXVIII. 156 and 160.
[3] Greg. Tur. Vit. Patr. VI, 3. [4] Id. H. F. X. 26.
[5] Cfr. Phillips-Vering VIII, 258, n. 59.
[6] II Orleans, c. 4: 1 Clermont, c. 2; V. Orleans, c. 10; Chalons, c. 10.
[7] Jaffé, 1004. "Agnovi quod in Galliarum vel Germaniae partes nullus ad sacrum ordinem, sine commodi datione perveniat,"
[8] l. c. 1169, 1216, 1413, 1419.
[9] A poor peasant whom she chanced to meet was recommended to her son, Theodoric II from whom he received the bishopric of Auxerre. Fredegar. Chron. IV, 19, 28.
[10] The appointment of Desiderius is the only one in which he is charged with simony.
[11] Vita Eligii II, 1 (Boll. Jan'y 26, 11, 740).

attempted reform; but similar examples are rare and transitory. The advent of a new monarch undid, in a short time, the reforms of one conscientious enough to depart from the time-honored policy of the Merovingian line of kings.

Another serious menace to ecclesiastical discipline in the kingdom of the Franks was the frequent elevation of laymen to the episcopate, without regard to the interstices demanded by the canons. In the fifth century bishops were regularly taken from two classes of men—noble Gallo-Romans who had previously held, in many cases, high civil offices, and monks from the isle of Lerins. To the former class belonged Sidonius Apollinaris, a relation of the Emperor Avitus, and Simplicius whom Sidonius, in the case already referred to, chose for metropolitan of Bourges; to the latter, Hilarius of Arles, Eucherius of Lyons and Caesarius of Arles.

While occasionally good results occurred to the Church from men of the former class, it was in the nature of things that the evil consequences would eventually more than counterbalance them. For, in the first place, a nobleman, long accustomed to look down upon the common people, and rule them with no gentle hand, is *a priori* an unlikely personage to fulfil the ideal of a Christian pastor. His education, too, such as it was, had as its end civil administration; so that when, having reached middle age, he looked around for a pleasant place to end his days *in otio cum dignitate*, it could hardly be hoped that he would become a zealous student of theology, pastoral, dogmatic, or moral.

Nevertheless, this first stage of lay-bishops, as they might be called, was by no means the worst. A conscientious man of good morals would, in some sense, meet the canonical requirements. But under the half-converted Merovingian princes, the transition from pious nobles to avaricious courtiers, and thence, as under Charles Martel, to soldiers, who enjoyed the revenues, without assuming the character of a bishop, was easily accomplished.[1]

[1] Ep. Bonif. Jaffè Monum. Moguntiae III. 112, (Bibliotheca Rer. German.) "Maxima ex parte per civitates episcopales sedes traditae sunt laicis, cupidis ad possidendum, vel adulterati clericis, scortatoribus et publicanis, seculariter ad perfruendum."

Against this uncanonical mode of procedure, as well as the equally hurtful simony, the popes and Gallic councils contended with little result.[1] The interstices demanded by the more ancient canons were reduced in consequence. The fourth council of Arles permitted episcopal consecration a year after the reception of the tonsure, and in this was followed by the third and fifth of Orleans.[2] Even this period of probation was considered too long, and was rarely observed. Although unworthy motives were generally connected with the promotion of laymen to the episcopate, it must be admitted that the exigencies of the age sometimes made such promotions beneficial to the people. In the last days of the empire in Gaul, the bishops played a prominent part in its defence against the invaders, so that when a see fell vacant it was not unnatural that a pious soldier should succeed to it. Under the Merovingians, too, bishops were made *defensores civitatis*, and as such were accountable to the king.[3] The result was that soldierly qualifications were deemed of more importance than priestly, hence the origin of mediæval soldier-bishops.

Perhaps the most useful means of preserving order in any particular and national branch of the Church is found in provincial and national synods. Gaul was, throughout the sixth century, especially noted for them ;[4] and, though not always able to carry out their decrees, the bare fact of their existence is proof that many good elements still survived. In the first half of the seventh century, synods were very rare. St. Boniface, writing to Pope Zachary in 742, says that for eighty years no synod had been held in France.[5] This statement is not strictly accurate,[6] but with the exception of the Parisian synod of 614, those held were of little importance.[7] Worldly prelates who acquired their dignities by means that would hardly bear in-

[1] Jaffé ep. RR. PP. 566; Greg. M. ep. V. 53, 54; IV. C. of Arles can. 2; III. Orleans, can. 6; V. Orleans, can. 9. For examples of laics elevated to the episcopate cfr. Greg. Tur. H. F. VI. 7, 9, 38; VIII. 20, 22.

[2] Cfr. note 36, canons cited.

[3] Greg. Tur. H. F. VII. 24.

[4] Cfr. Hefele, "Conciliengeschichte, II p. 660 sqq.

[5] Jaffé, Bib. Rer. Germ. n. 42, p. 112.

[6] Synods were held in 588 and 590, Greg. Tur. H. F. IX, 10, and X, 8.

[7] Mansi X, 539 sqq.

spection, were not likely to be zealous for the maintenance of an institution from which they had nothing to hope and much to fear.[1]

All these disorders remained in the Gallic church till the time of St. Boniface. New life was infused by the great apostle of the Germans into the moribund canons, but after his death zeal again relaxed, though never to the extent of the seventh century. This was due to the watchfulness of the popes, who then began to exercise, in a manner more direct than heretofore, that authority over the whole flock of Christ, which was confided to them through the prince of the apostles.

Spain.

The earliest notices of episcopal elections in Spain reveal a discipline substantially the same as that which received the approbation of the Nicene fathers. The west Gothic kings, who ruled in Spain since the middle of the fifth century, were, as a rule, tolerant to the faith of their Catholic subjects, and rarely interfered with the carrying out of the Church's laws.[2]

The influence of bishops in the appointment of their colleagues, seems, as far as may be ascertained from the few references to this matter, to have been decisive. Two cases are recorded which point to this conclusion. The first is that of Sylvanus, bishop of Calahorra, who was reported to Pope Hilary by his colleagues of the province of Tarragona as ordaining bishops without consulting them.[3] The second relates that a certain bishop Nundinarius, on the approach of death, expressed a wish that a chorepiscopus named Irenaeus should succeed him. The provincial synod of Tarragona confirmed the appointment, and, writing to the same pope in a manner which implied that this was by no means a new departure, asked his approval.[4] To the Roman authorities, however, it seemed an abuse, *novum et inauditum*. Pope Hilary in his reply ordered Irenaeus to give up his see, and directed the clergy to elect another bishop, who was to be confirmed by the metropolitan.

As to the bishops appointed by Sylvanus, the pope decided that a strict compliance with the canons demanded their deposi-

[1] Greg. M. ep. IX, 106: "Nam plerumque etsi non amore justitiae, metu tamen examinis abstinetur ab hoc quod omnium notum est posse displicere judicio."

[2] Cfr. Mansi VIII, 539; Gams, Kirchengeschichte von Spanien II², 54.

[3] Mansi VII, 924. [4] Ibid, p. 962.

tion; but if they were not men who had been twice married, or mutilated, or persons who had done public penance, they might be allowed to rule their dioceses.[1]

In the year 589, King Reccared became a convert to the Catholic faith. The king's example was followed by the greater part of his Arian subjects, and the acts of the third synod of Toledo (589), at which the union was effected, were signed by eight formerly Arian bishops.[2]

For a time all went well. Reccared himself usually refrained from things ecclesiastical, but with the progress of feudalism, the church of Spain shared the fate of her Gallic neighbor. Thus the twelfth synod of Toledo (681) takes it for granted that the king should appoint bishops. In the sixth chapter of its acts we are told that, owing to the delays occasioned by waiting for the provincial bishop's approval of the royal candidate, the archbishop of Toledo was empowered to give the required sanction in all cases, and himself perform the consecration. The new bishop was, however, required to present himself before his metropolitan within three months, under pain of excommunication.[3]

In the year 711, the greater part of Spain fell into the hands of the Saracens, and was henceforth, for seven centuries, known as the Caliphate of Cordova. For over a century after this conquest the Christians enjoyed comparative liberty in the practice of their religion. The Church in Arabian Spain was organized into twenty-three dioceses and three metropolitan sees; bishops were appointed without interference on the part of their secular masters. This *modus vivendi* was, however, rudely interrupted by a persecution, which began in 850 and continued for over a century. Yet the Christians, by their insults against the religion of Mohammed, were, in a great measure, accountable for a change of policy, which cost many of them their lives.[4]

England.

The advocates of continuity of the Anglican Church to-day can appeal to at least one practice which they posssess in com-

[1] Ib. p. 926.
[2] Mansi IX, 977-1010.
[3] Mansi XI, 1033.
[4] Cfr. Hergenr. I, 753 sq.

mon with their Saxon ancestors; for the present mode of electing bishops in the Church of England is easily traceable to a time not very remote from the days of St. Augustine. The newly-converted kings of the Saxon heptarchy were no less active than their continental brethren in the affairs of the Church; unfortunately, it must be added, with results not very dissimilar.[1]

St. Augustine appointed the first bishops among the newly converted Saxons,[2] but during the next half century, or down to the appointment by Rome of Archbishop Theodore (668), the civil authorities exercised arbitrary control in the appointment and deposition of bishops.[3] Under Theodore, the choice of prelates was reserved to national synods, presided over by the primate, and afterwards it devolved for a time on the clergy and respectable laity of each diocese.[4] The feudal system, however, put an end to real electoral freedom, and royal nominations became the rule.[5]

Africa.

From about the beginning of the fourth century, the Church in North Africa, up to that date deservedly famous, began to decline. Three causes contributed to bring about this result: the Donatist schism, the Arian heresy, and the Vandal conquest. The last event, which occurred in 429, was also the triumph of Arianism, for the Vandals had embraced that form of Christianity.

The period between 311 and 533, that is from the outbreak of the forementioned schism to the overthrow of the Vandal kingdom by Justinian's general, Belisarius, presents little of interest so far as concerns our subject. The Catholics were almost constantly persecuted by the Arian barbarians, and their bishops were in an especial manner objects of intolerance.

[1] Bede III., 7.

[2] Lingard, History of England, vol. I. c. 2.

[3] Bede, l. c.

[4] Cfr. Lingard: Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, cap. II..

[5] Cfr. Ingulf apud Lingard op. cit. l. c. "A multis itaque annis retroactis nulla electio praelatorum erat mere libera et canonica; sed omnes dignitates tam episcoporum quam abbatum per annulum et baculum, regis curia pro sua complacentia conferebat." [The authenticity of Ingulf's Chronicle of Croyland has long been disproved.—Editor.]

After its re-establishment as a province of the Eastern Empire, episcopal elections in North Africa were subjected to the same vicissitudes as in the rest of the empire.

Conclusion.

From the foregoing summary of the facts relative to the appointment of bishops during the first eight centuries, it is seen that prior to the first council of Nice (325) uniformity, or an approach to it, existed in this matter throughout Christendom. After the union of church and state effected by Constantine, diverging tendencies are noticeable between East and West. In the former branch of the Church, the emperors, beginning with Constantius, took an active, and generally hurtful, interest in what related to dogma and discipline. And although many intrepid defenders of the faith illustrated the Orient, sycophants and courtier-prelates who nurtured the Caesaropapism of the emperors, were much more numerous.

The peculiar genius of the Orientals led them away from the practical development of Christianity for which the West was noted. Abstract speculations were more in keeping with their intellect, and drew them into a series of heresies which for centuries disturbed the Christian world. A second, and in its consequences no less dangerous, result of these religious divisions was that they called for the continual and often arbitrary interference of the Byzantine emperors in ecclesiastical affairs.

It was but natural that when the Christians first realized the strange phenomenon of a Christian emperor, they should give way to excess of joy; and that churchmen in particular should hesitate to offer even a slight opposition to a prince with so many good qualities as Constantine. The consequence was that, though the first Christian emperor rendered invaluable services to the Church, a seed of future difficulties was planted without opposition and almost without being noticed. Constantine, the Christian, was also the pagan *Pontifex Maximus:* it seemed quite proper that he should stand in the same relation to Christianity. Nor were opportunities of interfering in ecclesiastical matters slow in presenting themselves. Scarce was the edict of Milan promulgated, when he received the ap-

peal of the Donatists against the bishop of Carthage. The judges of inquiry were appointed by him, and, as they failed to end the difficulty, he convened a council under the presidency of Pope Melchiades, to whose decision the schismatics again refused submission. Finally, the parties were cited before his own tribunal, thus constituting a secular tribunal the court of last appeal. Heresy and schism in the fourth century, as in every stage of their history, must therefore suffer the odium of initiating and perpetuating recourse to the secular government.

The Arian heresy served to make a regular institution of what might otherwise have soon fallen into disuse. Constantius was easily swayed by his co-religionists, who, far from protesting against his usurped authority, encouraged him in his violent measures.[1] The orthodox prelates, on the other hand, maintained their independence. Pope Liberius suffered exile for his opposition to the emperor, and though weak for a moment, in a storm that shook the whole Church, endeavored to retrace his steps. The bishops of Egypt denounced the council of Tyre presided over by an imperial officer,[2] and the councils of Sardica and Milan followed their example in repudiating intermeddling in the Church's sphere.

Even thus early the Church begins to appear as two great branches. The long struggle against Arianism emphasized more and more the different genius of East and West. The West from the beginning was characterized by Roman talent for organization, discipline, and government. Rome itself, the centre of Christendom, was noted for its practical faith, which demonstrated its true comprehension of Christ's teaching. But the Orientals preferred speculating on philosophical subtleties, and, when their pride was not gratified by a general acceptation of their views, paganism was neither more cruel nor more treacherous. Little did it matter to the court bishops who filled the imperial ante-chambers that they were forging fetters by which the churches in their charge would be held in utter subjection to a despot's will.

Mansi II, 1290, St. Athanasius taunted the Oriental bishops with their failure to appear at a council presided over by Pope Julius, because they feared a Roman count would not preside, and that a guard of soldiers would not be present to secure them against imaginary dangers. Baron., ad annum 341, no. 3.

[2] Mansi, l. c.

As time went on, this subjection increased. The heresies of Nestorius and Eutyches made the interference of the emperors often necessary. Even the best among the Byzantine rulers frequently employed stern measures against their bishops, nor were they without justification. Their empire threatened on all sides, internal union was an absolute necessity for its successful defence. But the religious disputants cared little, apparently, for their country's welfare. Patriotism was forgotten in the ardor of controversy; and, to the lasting dishonor of Eastern ecclesiastics, they remained faithful to this unworthy tradition up to the moment when they ceased to exist as a state. Their proud disdain for their western brethren led them to prefer bondage under the Turk to freedom with subjection to the lawful head of the Church. They are still enjoying the consequences.

Thus it came about that the Eastern branch of the Church fell completely under the control of the civil power. The ancient laws of free election became a dead letter; the destinies of church and state were inseparable. Meanwhile the Church of Italy, under a series of noble Roman bishops, had begun the work of civilization which makes society its everlasting debtor. When the empire fell before the repeated attacks of the barbarians, the Church, because independent of it, not only survived, but undertook and successfully accomplished the task of converting the young and vigorous peoples who settled on the ruins of Roman power. But the popes would not willingly see perish so much that was good in Roman institutions. The barbarians, therefore, were taught not only the faith of Christ but also the full value of the "Written Reason" of the empire. So that no sooner were the warrior princes of the North baptized, than they were invested with the emblems of consul and patrician; and in time the empire itself was restored, and its ruler consecrated, as was David, to rule according to the law of God and of His Church.

But how was the Roman Church able to carry on, in the midst of what often seemed insurmountable difficulties, so great a work? Simply because she was free from the trammels of despotism. The papacy, by means of its great wealth and generosity, drew to its side the *people*. Hence the privilege

preserved to the lower clergy and people in the choice of their bishops. In the latter days of the Western Empire and thence throughout the period of the Lombard kingdom and the Byzantine exarchate, a close union was maintained between the Roman bishop and the Italian people. In consequence, the former could bid defiance to those who had the will but not the power to enslave their see. True, they suffered much now and then from the Lombard kings and the emperors of the exarchate period. But the danger from the former was transient; and if they bore from the latter, at times, more than they need have borne, it was because the ideal of a Christian empire was still dear to them. Despite the hatred and opposition they encountered in Eastern prelates, and more particularly in the patriarchs of Constantinople, the popes made many sacrifices to maintain a united Christendom. So that we see them at one and the same time propping up the effete Byzantine government and allowing themselves and the churches of Rome to be despoiled by the unscrupulous minions of the East.

But if tolerant of petty tyranny, in one sphere the successors of St. Peter were uncompromising. Sophistry, cunning, and brute force could not bring the bishops of Rome, backed by all the bishops of the West, to betray the faith. It may have been that Vigilius was ambitious of power, and, when deprived of it, weak. Byzantine venom bursting forth in the sixth ecumenical council might pour its vials on the memory of good-natured Honorius, whose only fault was that of his successor, Leo X, believing a grave question to be a trifle. Notwithstanding, Constantinople with its train of heretical bishops[1] could not point to any Roman bishop and say he was a heretic. By the light of the Vatican council we are able to see a higher reason for this phenomenon; but looking at the question solely from a historical standpoint, it is evident that the popes, from the fourth to the eighth century, were able to preserve the Christian faith pure and undefiled, because the best elements among the people were always on their side.

But what of Gaul during these same ages? From what we are told by Sidonius Appollinaris, we can judge that the people

[1] Hergenroether: Photius vol. I. cap. I.

there were of a different stamp, and that the lower clergy were too often unworthy of their office. This goes to show that if the Church must rely on the great body of her members, those members must be worthy of the name. The Roman Church herself, so long well-disposed towards lay influence, was at length compelled to exclude all but the Roman clergy, or cardinals, from the election of her bishops.

At best, then, the intimate connection of laics with ecclesiastical affairs is but a temporary expedient, good enough so long as a common interest demands it. But when the pressure of danger from an external source, such as threatened Italy from the fifth to the ninth century, has ceased, popular passion and worldly ambition are likely to combine against the Church's well being.

In Gaul, the clergy and laity disappear, or exercise a merely nominal influence, from the beginning of the Merovingian dynasty. The many abuses, the principal of which have been enumerated, existing in the Gallic Church prior to St. Boniface, were, as in the Eastern Empire, due chiefly to royal intermeddling in the choice of bishops. Bishops are everywhere in the Catholic Church local centers from which emanate good or bad influences, according as the occupant of the episcopal chair is animated or not for his Master's service. King-made prelates were rarely remarkable for ardor in any cause but that of their civil master, and under the Merovingians there were few exceptions to the rule. These few, however, strove manfully against the tide of corruption, but with little success, until the rock of Rome arose to bar the way.

The Church, from a very early date, was composed of several great divisions or patriarchates, Rome in the West, Alexandria in Africa, and Antioch in the far East. The bishops of these sees exercised jurisdiction over certain metropolitans and their suffragans. Only in matters of the gravest moment was the pope called on to interfere; and this is readily intelligible to one who considers the physical impossibility, in those days, of frequent recourse to Rome. For the same reason the popes constituted primates in Gaul, Spain, and England. The popes were too busily engaged with the Oriental christological controversies and with the Lombards to do more than

give general directions. In those days Rome's care of the Universal Church partook of the nature of a mother's care for her children. Her charity was world-famed, and only rarely did she exercise what is called *contentious jurisdiction.* When prosperity had made many cold as to the things of eternity, appeals to her judicial tribunal became more frequent; but, of her own accord, she did not interfere with the local authorities unless in matters of vital interest to Christianity. But though the bishops of Rome always respected particular customs, on one subject they always insisted—the observance of the *canons.* Their exhortations to bishops may be summed up in the phrase: Enforce law; and to the faithful: Obey your bishops.

The spirit of nationalism led the Orientals to disregard papal admonitions; the warlike tendencies of the Western nations hindered, for a time, their operation. The right moment for more direct supervision had to be awaited, and it came with St. Boniface. Thenceforward, the papal authority, when free, was exercised in checking or eliminating long-standing abuses, and thus prevented the Church from degenerating into a state institution, tolerated by kings as an instrument of despotism.

MAURICE F. HASSETT.

A DECADE OF PROGRESS IN NEUROLOGICAL WORK.

Within recent years the attention of biologists has been concentrated more than ever upon the constitution and functioning of the nervous system, and much work has been done by neurologists in an endeavor to acquire more reliable information on these subjects. Our understanding of its marvelous unity is far from comprehensive, though much has been done to dispel the darkness that once enshrouded it. The decade just closed has been especially noteworthy in this regard. It ushered in a new era in the study of neurology by introducing new methods of research.

To appreciate the magnitude and consequences of the change brought about during this period, requires at least an elementary knowledge of the origin and development of the cerebrospinal system. In its ultimate analysis every living organism, whether plant or animal, may be reduced to a fundamental substance known as protoplasm.[1] No analytical method with which we are acquainted at present can furnish a detailed and exact knowledge of the chemical constituents of this substance, because any reagent that may be employed reduces it to the condition of dead matter. In appearance it is a translucent, granular mass composed of minute rounded bodies, to which the name cell has been given. In animals this protoplasmic cell is bounded by a membrane which, in plants, is replaced by a cellulose cell-wall. The cytoplasm, or cell-content, is traversed by fibrils, which radiate from the centresome and form a delicate net-work attached to the surrounding wall. Near the centresome is a modified portion of protoplasm, known as the nucleus and considered by many as a foreign element which has forced its way into the cell.

This cellular mass of living matter is regarded by biologists as the substratum of all vital manifestations. It is capable of performing definite functions either alone or as part of an or-

[1] Wilson, "The Cell in Development and Inheritance," p. 13 f.

ganized whole. From this fundamental unit all forms of plant and animal life—from the protophyta to the giant oak, from the protozoa to man—have developed. The growth of the cell-content and its differentiation along certain lines have given rise to the almost innumerable species of living organisms which abound in the world around us.

The mode of reproduction of the cell is characteristic.[1] The centresome divides into two parts. These gradually pass to opposite sides of the nuclear mass, which then separates into two portions, each of which migrates toward a pole of the cell. At this stage the cell body becomes constricted as if a string were drawn tightly round it; and, finally, instead of one large parent-cell two daughter-cells appear. In the lower forms of life these separate entirely and exist independently of each other; but in the higher and more complex organisms they adhere to each other, undergo various subdivisions in regular order, and in the course of time form an aggregation of cells without any definite arrangement or unity of function. This morular stage is of short duration. Owing to difference in growth, some of the cells take up a definite position with reference to the organized mass, forcing the others to arrange themselves in the form of a cup-shaped organism known as a gastrula. This stage of development is characterized by an outer and an inner layer of cells called, respectively, ectoderm and entoderm, the intervening space being occupied by the mesoderm. To modifications of these three primitive layers of cells may be traced the entire structure of man.

The entodermic tissue is characterized by its digestive and assimilative power, and to it may be traced, in part at least, the complex mechanism involved in the digestion and assimilation of the food supply taken into the system. The mesoderm furnishes the muscular, vascular and connective tissues.

The ectodermic or exterior layer of cells possesses in a marked degree the quality of irritability, or the power of responding to an external stimulus. In the process of differentiation which it undergoes, many of the cells lose their exceeding sensitiveness to certain modes of excitation, and form the exposed layer or epidermis of the skin with its appendages.

[1] Parker, "Elementary Biology," p. 65 f.

Another group of ectodermic cells sinks into the mesodermic layer, and forms a groove on the dorsal side which develops into a cylindrical column extending the whole length of the body. This soon separates from the parent layer, which closes around it, and, after undergoing further modification, becomes the nervous substance enclosed within and protected by the bones of the head and of the spinal column. This nervous substance is divided into two chief portions—the brain and the spinal cord, which, with the network of ramifications to all parts of the body, constitute the cerebro-spinal system.

A cross section of the cord reveals the fact that it is not of uniform color, but is composed of white and grey matter ; the former occupying the external part of the cord and the inner portion of the cerebral hemispheres, and the latter the central portion of the cord and the outer layers of the brain.

Of what is this nerve substance composed ? Is it made up exclusively of the modified cells of the ectodermic layer, or do we find traces of any other constituents ? If the latter be the case, what are the relations of the elements to each other and to the whole mass ? Briefly stated, the nerve substance consists of nerves, nerve cells, and a species of connective tissue known as neuroglia, occupying the interstices between the cells and fibres and binding them into a single whole. To the eye a nerve presents the appearance of a whitish or greyish cord of uniform texture, but viewed through a microscope its structure is seen to be highly diversified. In reality it is made up of several bundles of nerve fibres, bound together by connective tissue. If we trace it to the periphery, we find that it terminates in a single strand of nerve matter, called a nerve fibre. These fibres are most abundant in the white portion of the cord and constitute the ascending and descending paths of nerve currents.

Nerve cells vary in shape and size, and are located chiefly in the grey portion of the brain and cord. They are generally represented as small irregular masses of granular cytoplasm containing a nucleus and giving off one or more processes or branches. These processes are of two kinds—protoplasmic and axis-cylinder. The former, called also dendrons, are continuous with the cell substance itself, and may be regarded as pro-

longations of it which penetrate into the surrounding medium, each giving off branches in its course, somewhat as a tree does, until finally it occupies quite an extended area. The axis-cylinders or neurons of nerve cells are very different from those just described. They are modified extensions of the cellular substance. When treated with chemicals which stain them, they present the appearance of fine dark lines, running generally to a considerable distance from the cell and sending off at right angles small fibres of similar appearance, called collaterals. These processes seem to be quite simple in structure; but if a cross section be subjected to close examination three concentric layers are distincly visible—a central or axis-cylinder proper, consisting of a compact bundle of fibrils; a thick fatty covering known as the medullary sheath; and a protecting layer or envelope called the neurilemma. It is by means of these neurons and their collaterals that the peripheral organs of the body are brought into direct communication with the central nervous system.

The purpose and manner of functioning of the nerve cells and fibres have been fruitful subjects for discussion among neurologists for the past half century; but it is only within the last decade that patient and detailed investigation has added to our knowledge sufficiently to enable us to draw any definite conclusions with reference to their connection and interaction. This does not surprise us, however, when we remember the peculiar difficulties which, until recent years, attended any attempt to obtain more than probable results. The nervous system, more than any other part of the human organism, presents peculiarities of structure the unraveling of which baffled for years the skill of cytologists. It is comparatively easy by means of certain stains to segregate the cell from the surrounding tissue in other parts of the body, to trace its definite outline and examine its external configuration. But the nerve cell, as we have seen, is not a compact body of unbroken border, but rather, if I may so express it, a fusing of processes the terminal branches of which lie hidden from view in the nervous substance itself. Some years ago, it is true, Nissel[1] obtained, by means of differential stains, a good knowledge of the inter-

[1] Barker. "Anatomy and Physiology of the Nervous System and its Constituent Neurons."—*New York Medical Journal*, September 18, 1897.

nal structure and contents of a cell; but before the year 1890 no method of treatment was known by means of which the nerve cell and its prolongations could be shown in their true position with reference to adjacent cells and fibres.

Those who had devoted any time to an examination of the elements of the nervous system were not without some knowledge of their method of functioning, and were able to recognize in their distribution and supposed connection a purposeful adaptation of means to end. By an experiment easily repeated, they proved that the physiological function of a nerve is the conduction of impulses either to or from the central system, thus keeping the brain informed of the changes wrought in every part of the organism under its control; and that the nerve cell, in addition to conductivity, possesses the power of generating new impulses and of reinforcing those brought into contact with it by the nerve fibers.

We know that if a peripheral end-organ of sense responds to an external stimulus, a nerve current passes along an afferent fibre to a cell in the posterior horn of the spinal cord, is transmitted to a cell in the anterior horn, whence, by an efferent path, the proper response is sent to a motor end-organ. Let us suppose, for instance, that a person accidentally places his finger on a hot surface. Immediately an impulse is transmitted to the brain which, acting on the information received, sends back a message commanding the withdrawal of the finger. All this takes place in a moment, and we seldom stop to analyze the mechanism involved. The impulse passes through several cells and along numerous fibres. This naturally presupposes some kind of a connection between fibre and fibre, cell and cell, or between a nerve and a cell other than that in which it originates. What is the nature of this connection? Is the bond of union such as to form an uninterrupted line of communication between cell and cell, analogous to that which the Atlantic cable furnishes between the Old World and the New? If we deny anatomical continuity between the elements which function in the transmission of impulses, how account for the observed phenomena? The attention which this problem received from neurologists shows that it was considered a question of vital importance, on the solution of which de-

pended a fuller understanding of much that was unexplained in the harmonious working of the nervous system.

Besides Nissel, whose contribution to the science has been already referred to, there were many who, during the past half century, endeavored to solve the much-debated question of the correlation of cells and fibres in the nervous system.

The hematoxyline preparation of Weigert[1] which colored the sheaths of the medullated nerve processes, rendered possible a partial determination of the course of single bundles of fibres in the cord and brain.

Flechsig[2] introduced the embryological method of tracing the course of the conduction paths in the white matter. It was based on the fact that the neurons of different groups of cells in the central system acquired medullated sheaths at different periods of their embryonic development.

Deiters employed a method of tissue staining which had been proposed by Gerlach, and described the two kinds of nerve cell processes. In France, Bouchard, Charcot and others made use of different methods to locate the path of nerve currents in the spinal cord.

This work, though incomplete, was not valueless. It prepared the way and made easy the task for future investigators. To a certain extent, it limited the field of operation and turned the current of thought into a definite channel. From their investigations the older generation of neurologists concluded that the nerve cell processes united, or, as it is generally expressed, anastomosed with each other, and gave to the nervous system anatomical continuity. When we consider the vast number of cells involved and the network of fibres which penetrate every part, crossing each other and recrossing in weblike complexity, we do not marvel at their deduction, which we now know to be unwarranted and erroneous. It is true, they did not demonstrate the anatomical unity which they advocated, but it was the best hypothesis they could frame to explain the observed physiological reactions.

Doubtless they foresaw that this problem would not be satisfactorily and definitely solved, until a method of treating nerve tissue would be discovered which would give more prom-

[1] Lenhossék, "Der Feinere Bau des Nervensystems im Lichte Neuester Forschungen."
[2] Cajal, "Les Nouvelles Idées sur la Structure du Système Nerveux."

inence to some fibres than to others, and thus enable us to outline their course and observe their endings. Here was an opportunity not to be neglected. The fortunate discoverer would be a benefactor of the race and reap undying fame in his chosen field of labor. Naturally all eyes turned for a solution of the question to that country whose sons have for many years been in the van of the great army of technical experts, leaving to others the work of generalization, while they busy themselves in amassing the minute details which form the groundwork of every science. In this case, however, the palm of victory was snatched from the German universities and their bands of trained workers. To Italy and Spain belongs the honor of this greatest neurological discovery of modern times. It is inseparably linked with the names of Camillo Golgi of Pavia and Ramon y Cajal of Madrid. The former discovered the method, the latter improved it, and by a series of delicate experiments demonstrated its scientific value. Golgi's process was tentative; it afforded an indication of the manner in which the problem might be solved. It drew aside for an instant the veil which hid from view the mysterious functioning of the nervous system, and intensified the desire for fuller knowledge. The Spanish histologist began experimenting with Golgi's method, improved and elaborated the process, and at last succeeded in obtaining highly satisfactory results. The manner of staining nerve tissue which he proposed, settled forever the discussion regarding the unity underlying the operations of the central nervous system.

Golgi[1] employed two methods named, from the chief chemicals used, the silver chromate process and the mercuric bichloride process. The former, in general use before the time of Cajal, consisted in hardening pieces of the nerve tissue in a solution of bichromate of potassium and then subjecting it to the action of silver nitrate, which deposited a reddish-black precipitate of silver chromate in some of the nerve cells. In the second method the silver salt was replaced by bichloride of mercury, and the resulting greyish-black precipitate showed the position and arrangement of certain cells and fibres. The latter process is generally made use of to verify the results obtained from the salts of silver.

[1] Cajal, op. cit., p. 175.

By the use of these methods fairly good results were obtained by Golgi himself. He was enabled to demonstrate the truth of two fundamental conceptions, namely, the presence of axis-cylinder processes originating in the nerve cells and giving off collateral branches; and the free termination of the dendrons in the nerve substance without the formation of a complex network. He admitted, however, an anastomosis of the terminal branches of collaterals emanating from different neurons. These results would have been fairly satisfactory were it not for the fact that the stain did not bring the elements into sufficient prominence to permit of their being traced with an accuracy that would lead to any definite conclusion as to their position with reference to each other. By remedying its defects Cajal gained both time and distinctness of outline. To the solution of potassic bichromate in distilled water he added some osmic acid and immersed a certain amount of nerve tissue in a definite quantity of it. After the lapse of several days, he removed the tissue from this bath, washed it in distilled water and plunged it into a solution of silver nitrate, to which, in some cases, he added a few drops of formic acid for every 300 grams of the liquid. At the end of about thirty-six hours, he removed the specimen, dried and mounted it and obtained a distinctness of outline which the lapse of several years failed to dim.

Such, in brief, is the Cajal rapid process of tissue impregnation—a process extensively employed by neurologists in our own time. It ushered in a new era in the study of the constituents of the nervous system and rendered possible an exact knowledge of their physiological functioning. By the use of this method histologists are enabled to secure a well-defined cell body and to trace with accuracy every expansion of it, because the stain shows even the minutest branches with a distinctness never before approached. At first the announcement of Cajal's success was received with incredulity by his fellow-workers, but when their own experiments proved the truth of his claims they did not withhold the praise so justly due him.

The immediate result of this discovery was an increased activity among neurologists, who were anxious to test the new

method. It was taken up with eagerness in Germany, France, Italy, Spain and elsewhere. In every case the results confirmed those obtained by Cajal himself. An impetus was thus given to the study of the nerve tissue, and much valuable information on this subject has since been embodied in monographs by such authorities as Van Gehuchten, Koelliker, Retzius and Lenhossék.

Though Cajal's fame rests chiefly upon this discovery, it is by no means the only claim he has to a place in the foremost rank of men of science. The hypothesis of nerve continuity was still a hypothesis. No proof had been adduced either for or against it. This traditional belief of his predecessors, embodied in the idea of anatomical continuity, received its deathblow from his discovery that the nerve processes of one cell do not anastomose with those of another, each cell and its expansions constituting an individual unit in close relation, it is true, with numerous other cells, but never fusing with any of them. He demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt that the neurons and their collaterals end in arborizations in the immediate vicinity of cells or among the many dendritic branches which terminate freely in the nervous matter. The impulses generated or reinforced in any cell pass out from it by way of the axis-cylinder process, spread to the terminal arborizations, thence to the dendritic endings in the vicinity, and by the latter are borne to the cells of which they are the prolongations. This view limits the function of nerve fibres to conduction in one direction—the neurons being cellulifugal and the dendrons cellulipetal paths. In this way the transmission of impulses from one cell to another takes place, not by continuity of nerve fibres, but by their contiguity or juxtaposition. The demonstration of this truth completely disproved the assertion made by Golgi some years before, that the sole function of the protoplasmic prolongations was to supply nutrition to the cell, in much the same way as the roots of a tree extract from the surrounding soil the food necessary for its growth and development. Golgi also maintained that they were connected with the neuroglia, but there does not seem to be any evidence in support of such a view. Moreover, wherever dendrons terminate there are also found the endings

of axis-cylinder processes. Each cell with its connections is capable of performing a certain portion of the work allotted to the nervous system, and in no circumstances can it be made to overstep this limit.

This fact of cell individuality is but one of many important truths with which Cajal has enriched the science. While pursuing his researches into the structure and working of the nervous system, he was confronted by another characteristic of the cellular units to which reference has already been made. Previously to this time, it was believed that nerve currents could pass over the same fibre either to or from the cell body. If this were so, there would be plenty of room for speculation as to the result of a meeting of opposing impulses in the same fibre. When Cajal established the fact that every fibre was either a cellulifugal or a cellulipetal conductor, it was not difficult for him to draw the obvious conclusion that nerve currents always pass through the cell in the same direction. This polarity of nerve currents, as it is termed, is vouched for by what has been found to occur in the higher animals and in man. It is demonstrated most easily by an examination of the structure of an end-organ of sense, especially of that of smell.

Every end-organ is endowed with selective power. It can be acted upon by a certain class of stimuli, and can transmit this action, after transforming it, to the central organ. The chief parts to be considered in an examination of the end-organ of smell, are the mucous membrane and the olfactory bulb.[1] The mechanism involved in the detection of an odor comes into contact with the external world in the upper region of the nasal cavities. Here is situated the mucous membrane, in which are imbedded the end-organs, by means of which we become conscious of the presence of an odor. It is composed of layers of epithelial cells, the chief rôle of which seems to be the providing of a support for the olfactory nerve cells and the preventing of any contact between the impulses they conduct. The olfactory corpuscles are long, irregular cells, giving off at each end a process, the larger and thicker of which passes to the outer surface of the mucous membrane, while the other, as

[1] Cajal, op. cit., p. 99.

a fine nerve fibre, penetrates to the olfactory bulb. This connection, long suspected, was not conclusively proved to exist until the discovery of the special staining process of Golgi and Cajal. The olfactory bulb is generally regarded as a diminutive cerebral lobe, comprising numerous fibres and cells, which are brought into requisition whenever an impulse passes from the end-organ of smell to the brain. The neurons of the olfactory cells which penetrate into this bulb, end in arborizations within small ovoidal bodies known as glomeruli. Here also terminate the dendrons of triangular-shaped or mitral cells situated in a remote zone of the olfactory bulb. These mitral cells have neurons which constitute the olfactory tract leading to the brain.

If we bear in mind these few anatomical details, it will not be a difficult task to outline the path of nerve impulses and trace their course from the exterior of the nasal lining to the brain. The odor emitted by any substance is wafted by a current of air into the nasal passages, and there comes into contact with the mucous membrane and acts as a stimulus for the end-organs distributed over its surface. It is transformed in some way into a nerve current which passes along the dendron of a bipolar olfactory cell, traverses the cell body itself, and by way of the axis-cylinder process is conducted to the olfactory bulb. Here it divides up among the terminal branches, which, as we have already learned, end in a glomerulus among the dendritic ramifications of a mitral cell. Golgi had followed its course thus far, but he believed that its proximity to the protoplasmic arborizations had no physiological value. He maintained that the impulses were conveyed from the neurons of the olfactory cells by centripetal fibres having their origin in the glomeruli before mentioned.

Cajal showed that no centripetal fibres escape from these bodies, and that if the impulse continues its course, as it certainly does, it can only do so by passing to the dendritic branchings of the mitral cells. Once the current reaches a mitral cell, there is only one path open to it—that which conducts it by way of an axis-cylinder process into the region of the bulb, which contains the bundles of fibres leading to the

brain. It passes over this path and is received by the pyramidal cells of the cerebral cortex, and is thus brought to the brain itself, which presides over the functioning of the cerebro-spinal system.

From this brief analysis, it is evident that the impulse which traverses the distance between the end-organ and the brain is afferent, and that no efferent impulse is sent back over the same path. In this centripetal journey the current passes through many cells, all of which it enters by the protoplasmic, and leaves by the axis-cylinder, process. This is the only course open to it, and the disposition of the dendrons and neurons shows that the rôle of the former is to conduct impulses towards the cell body, while that of the latter is to admit of their passage away from it. This orderly arrangement is never violated in the nervous system. There is here, as in every other part of the realm of animate nature, a division of labor—a setting aside of definite functions for a definite organ or group of organs. The more perfect the organization, the higher the specialization of functions and the more complex the harmonious action of the whole. The relation between cells and fibres in the nervous system furnishes us an example of this, and led Cajal to undertake an investigation that resulted in his discovery of the polarity of nerve currents. His deductions have been verified by a host of workers, among whom Koelliker, Van Gehuchten, Retzius and Lenhossék are deserving of special mention.

But they have done more than confirm his observations. They have penetrated into the new land pointed out by him, and have returned laden with its long-concealed treasures. The work of exploration has not yet ceased. Each year opens up new avenues of research and increases the fund of knowledge we hold in trust for posterity.

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THE PLACE OF HEBREW IN THE PROGRAMS OF OUR SEMINARIES.

Everybody knows it is very small; some understand and say it ought to be larger; how much larger it ought to be very few realize; fewer, perhaps, are aware that to give Hebrew its proper place in our programs, entails a recast of those programs, not simply an addition, however large and apparently important that addition may be.

I intend in this paper to emphasize the fact that the study of Hebrew has become just as essential a feature of our preparatory courses as Latin and Greek, and that it is our duty to introduce it and insist upon it strictly, even at the cost of a complete recast of our programs. I will then explain why the study of Hebrew has been so far neglected in our seminaries, hoping that such an explanation may check in the mind of my readers every tendency to base on that neglect an argument against the opportuneness of giving Hebrew a larger place in the programs than it has heretofore occupied. I am afraid I shall not be completely successful in my attempt. It is said that in difficult undertakings one must aim higher than the mark. This I cannot do, for in my opinion, the importance of the study of Hebrew for our young clerics cannot be overrated; nay, I have a presentiment that what I consider now high enough will prove to be below the mark before the next century is over. Yet I will be satisfied if I succeed in persuading the leaders and educators I have in view to take the first steps in the right direction. Time, with God's help, will do the rest.

I. Importance of the Study of Hebrew.

To forestall any misunderstanding I shall at once admit that the study of Hebrew in theology is entirely secondary; hence, I have already said that it is entitled to a prominent place in a course *preparatory* to theology. I may even go

safely farther in the way of concessions and say that Hebrew is not exactly necessary for a course preparatory to *scholastic* theology, such as that system was perfected by St. Thomas Aquinas and many other eminent theologians of the middle ages, none of whom knew a word of Hebrew. The position I take and hope to hold is that, by the side of the scholastic theology, two important factors have now entered the field of the theological sciences: philology and historical criticism. For the past three hundred years religious thought has been undergoing a process of evolution, which has brought us to the very antipodes of the thirteenth century. The demand was then especially for speculative studies, now it is chiefly for positive science, both in Scripture and tradition. The following pages will show what an important part the study of Hebrew played, and yet plays, in that evolution of biblical lore, and consequently justifies the prominent place I claim for it in our program of theological studies.

The beginnings of Hebrew scholarship date from the thirteenth century. Naturally enough they were modest and slow. The first to advocate that study were actuated by apostolic zeal; they dreamed of converting the Jews to Christianity. Such men found encouragement with the popes, who repeatedly issued decrees to enforce the establishment of chairs of Hebrew in the most important universities. Practically those chairs were a failure.* Their occupants were necessarily converted Jews, and the Christian public was not always convinced of their sincerity. Besides, there prevailed in many minds an intense hatred, or, at least, a contempt for the Jews, coupled with the most complete mistrust of their teaching. The Christian disliked to appeal to them for any assistance, and it took fully four centuries to conquer that prejudice even among the most enlightened people.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, the renaissance gave a fresh and more effective impulse to the study of Hebrew. Along with the classical revival, Oriental studies now assumed considerable proportions. Hebrew first attracted the attention of scholars. No longer content to speak of it with respect, they applied themselves to a thorough study of it. It

* For another account of that failure see below under II.

was not enough to know Latin and Greek—a perfect humanist was obliged to be conversant in the primitive language from which all the others were supposed to be derived. However, this scientific interest in Hebrew was from the beginning sometimes furthered, sometimes hindered by religious considerations, not always based on truly scientific principles. Still it had important results; the diffusion among scholars of the study of Hebrew, and above all the publication of the grammar and dictionary of Reuchlin. Through these works, Christians became independent of the suspected Jews, converted or not, without whom, so far, no Christian (not excepting St. Jerome) had been able to enter the mysterious precincts of Jewish literature.

With the Reformation begins a new phase in the history of the academic recognition of Hebrew. Born of apostolic zeal, it had been fostered during its infancy by humanism, under the protection of the papacy. It enters now the field of theology as a necessary consequence of the supremacy claimed for the Scripture by the reformers. It is strange, however, to see how it is welcomed by Catholics and Protestants; by the former with excessive diffidence, by the latter with too much confidence, though not without some apprehension. It is evident that the true importance of that study is not yet understood; no one suspects the part it is going to play in the evolution of theological science. The men who, some day, will know how to use it, are not born yet.

The arguments in favor of the excellence of the sacred language, are alike for both parties, and equally childish. Forster, who assisted Luther in his translation of the Bible (Luther was ignorant of both Greek and Hebrew) says that Hebrew deserves special attention because it is both a holy and a useful language, holy because it is the first and oldest language, the one used by the Holy Trinity in creating the world, and in revealing itself; holy, also, because in it the Son of God redeemed us; in it Adam named the animals, the birds and the fishes, which means clearly that it is the fittest language to express the nature of things. Until the building of the Tower of Babel there was, he maintained, no other language; the diversity and confusion of languages then followed by way of

punishment, to the incredible damage of the Church, although God preserved the sacred language in the holy family of Heber, in order that He might make to Abraham the promises relating to his blessed seed, our Lord Jesus Christ. It is a useful language, because it helps us to defend the Scripture against the rabbis who corrupted and adulterated it; it enables us to understand the inner meaning of Scriptural words, and uphold their true sense against the mockeries of the Jews, etc. On the other side, Wicel, a bitter opponent of Luther, says we can not study Hebrew with too much zeal, because it traces its origin back to Moses. God, Christ, and the Apostles spoke it. It is much more important than the classical languages; it possesses many varied advantages in our conflict with the infidels; it is useful even in prayer, for it sounds so sweet and religious that merely to read it fills one with piety and the strongest faith. Such were the views of both Catholics and Protestants, taken as a body, up to the first decades of the seventeenth century. One sees clearly that the old prejudice against the treacherous Jews has not disappeared from their minds. Not once,[1] that I know of, did they use the study of Hebrew against each other during that period, if we except a few occasional skirmishes on the relative importance of the Hebrew text and the old versions; the Protestants saying that the Vulgate and the Septuagint were the work of the devil, the Septuagint especially, because the seventy-two interpreters were Jews who skillfully deceived the candid Ptolemy; whilst the Catholics were inclined to cherish suspicion of a text which had been for centuries in the exclusive possession of the born enemies of Christianity, and to rely implicitly on the two versions, both made in old times, and ever since adopted by the Fathers of the Church. This shows clearly that nobody then had the slightest idea of Criticism, in the eyes of which Hebrew, Latin, and Greek are of equal importance for the establishment of the correct reading.

Nevertheless, on both sides there were active and judicious scholars who had the courage to set aside all religious prejudices and take up again the question of Scripture on an entirely new, thoroughly scientific basis. Their patient labors

[1] See, however, Hottinger, *Analecta.*

gradually revealed some facts, each of which might have led to the discovery of textual criticism. It was, for instance, demonstrated that the present so-called square letters are not the original characters of the Hebrew writings, and that many errors not only could have occurred but in fact did occur in the transliteration from the old to the new characters; further, that the vowel-points, far from being of Mosaico-divine origin, had been invented at as late a date as the sixth century of our era; finally, that the consonants, till then regarded as having been miraculously preserved from corruption, had suffered considerable alteration at the hands of careless copyists and unintelligent correctors. These three facts (not to burden the mind of the reader with others) were enough in the hands of a Morin or a Cappel to create textual criticism of the Bible. Nor did the prestige of Hebrew studies suffer, as the uninitiated might believe, from the discovery that the so-called original text of the Scriptures was not so reliable as everybody formerly believed. It was, on the contrary, considerably increased. That text, hence to be known as the Masoretic Text, had proved to be nothing more than another witness, younger, it is true, than either the Septuagint or the Vulgate, but all-important because behind it there lay, discoverable if not visible, the true Hebrew text, the original of the sacred writings. Hebrew epigraphy and palaeography by the same fact had asserted their rights. Henceforth something more than a mere elementary knowledge of the language was required.

Another step in the evolution of biblical studies enhanced the importance of the study of Hebrew. In the wake of lower criticism followed the higher criticism. From the text the attention of independent scholars was naturally turned to the question of the genuinity of the Bible. What had been in the past the literary vicissitudes of that Great Book, covering a period of ten or twelve centuries of religious and political life in a small nation divided into two rival kingdoms, in a small country, the battlefield of such gigantic empires as Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia, constantly overrun by the armies of the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hittites, Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Macedonians, whose population was repeatedly scattered to all points of the compass? What could have been the desti-

nies of that book, or rather of the different books of which that book was made? Despite the strongest faith in a watchful Providence, was it not clear that such a book must have had a history more stormy, more agitated than any other book? And does not that supposition become a certainty when we read the Scriptures themselves; the finding of the law under Josiah, the words of Esdras, and so on. Spinoza bent his mind upon this all-important problem, not so much as a member of the Jewish community, from which he had been cut off, but as a philosopher. Richard Simon did it as a scientist, as a critical, judicious historian, unflinching and serene in his work, never shaken from his undertaking by the attacks of the scandalized pusillanimous Catholic or Protestant; conscious that he was answering a demand from the general Catholic public, a demand that would naturally be met, if he did not step forward, by some one else probably less enlightened and less sincerely convinced of the right of his position as a Catholic. What Spinoza had simply outlined Simon carried out in a new, original, and we may well say, definite way, so far at least as the general principles were concerned.

I beg the reader not to mistake these words for an endorsement of all the views of Richard Simon, especially not of the positive portion of his system. He might have been wrong in his views from the beginning to the end; that matters little. The fact remains that with him originated the higher criticism of the Bible, which, however thoroughly opposed, spread with a rapidity that shows that it really responded to a need felt by all classes of educated people.

To be brief, I shall only state the stubborn fact that the existence of higher criticism renders the study of Hebrew, on the part of our Catholic theological scholars, still more necessary than lower criticism ever did. How is it possible without it to take an active part in the historical investigation of the Bible, or even understand enough of modern research in this line to satisfy the ever-growing curiosity of the educated Catholic layman? Now that the results of higher criticism are scattered broadcast in the periodicals, nay in the daily press, is it not one of the strictest duties of our clergy to acquaint themselves with Hebrew? Must we not, as St. Paul did, make

ourselves all to all? Can we do this unless we not only know Hebrew well enough to read it, but also learn the history and growth of the language? Indeed that study will take us much farther than a simple reading knowledge of the Hebrew. It will require in the end a fairly good knowledge of the cognate languages, like the Assyrian, Aramaic, Arabic and Ethiopic, of the necessity of which I shall speak later. In fact the biblical scholar ought to know Hebrew better than the average priest knows Latin and Greek, at least he ought to know it more scientifically.

Such being the importance *in se* of these studies, let us see how they fare in our theological institutions. Every seminary professor must regret that the course in Hebrew is limited, on the average, to one year. During that year, moreover, the student has to devote the greater part of his time to other branches, either philosophical or theological, and the professor himself is, in most cases, obliged to conduct several courses in addition to his class of Hebrew, which, as a consequence, comes to be regarded as a sort of necessary evil. It is not surprising, under these circumstances, that only a small number of seminary students should get a relish for the study of Hebrew, and that a much smaller number should rise to the position of specialists. And these few, we may candidly say, are self-made men, who owe more to their energy than to their opportunities. Men of genius they may be, but even the genius is not prepared to meet single-handed an organized and well-trained army.

A glance at the catalogues of German, English and American Universities, will show how different the situation is for non-Catholic students, and how thoroughly the tactics of the early reformers have been changed by their modern successors. If further evidence is needed, it is supplied in abundance by the ever-growing literature and the mass of publications that are the result of studies in Hebrew, and that bring constantly before the eyes of the learned world the names of scholars like Harper of Chicago, Moore of Andover, Toy of Harvard, Jastrow of Philadelphia, Haupt of Baltimore, McCurdy of Toronto, Cheyne and Driver of England, Wellhausen, Kautsch, Siegfried, Stade, Budde, Cornill, Kittell and Delitzsch of Germany.

Such men, we must remember, are known not only for their thorough training in their respective branches and their scholarly productions, but also for their scientific conscientiousness. To their work, indeed, our Catholic professors of Scripture are deeply indebted. They cannot be ignored like a Voltaire, a Semler, a Baur, or a Strauss, on the plea that they are prejudiced, argue *a priori*, or start from false premises. They are not our adversaries, but rather earnest seekers after the truth that should be as precious to us as it is to them. And if their own theories are not always such that we can accept them, they in turn must occasionally smile at the efforts of our scholars to refute theories that have long since passed into the archaeological museum of biblical studies. Finally, it must be observed that these men are not confined to a sphere of scholarship so high and remote that it keeps them out of touch with people of average education. The names cited above appear on the list of translators of the Polychrome edition of the Bible recently published under the auspices of the Johns Hopkins University. "Though based," as the preface says, "upon the combined biblical scholarship of the world, this is not a book for scholars only, but *for the people.*" Hitherto one could cling to the Douai version, and the average man would offer in rebuttal the Revised version. One could justly answer that, after all, the latter represents only the Masoretic Text, a later witness than the Vulgate, of which the Douai version is a faithful rendering. Not so now; any owner of the Bible will come out with an array of critical arguments that bewilder the reader who is not familiar with the Hebrew Masoretic Text and the means of emendation that have been used by its editors. The Septuagint and the Vulgate versions are quoted at every step, either for approval or for rejection, in a way perfectly clear and intelligible, "so that he who runs may read." The heavy commentaries and glossaries, written in such foreign languages as French, German and Dutch, in which one justly saw a wall of protection, avail no longer. The wall has fallen and the enemy that hitherto could creep in only here and there through occasional English translations, enters now by the wide open gates of the fortress. Instead of imported versions, there is now offered to the American public an English translation by an American scholar.

From what I have said in the preceding pages, every fair reader will conclude that we ought to know Hebrew well, very well, both philologically and historically, in order to answer the present demands of the public for information as to the lower, or philogical, and the higher, or literary, criticism of the Bible. Hebrew is now just as necessary as Latin and Greek, nay, far more necessary as far as philological and literary knowledge goes, for most of the Latin and Greek works the theologians have to read have been long since critically edited, so that an ordinary reading knowledge of those two languages is sufficient to the average theological student; not so for the original text of the Sacred Writings.

II. Reason of the Insignificant Place of the Study of Hebrew in Our Seminaries.

When the renaissance gave to the study of Hebrew the impulse of which we now see and enjoy the results, the universities had once for all assigned to that study a place in their programs. Naturally enough that place was of the second, not to say of the third or fourth order, because the study of Hebrew as then viewed, was not in harmony with the purpose of those institutions, much less with the plan on which they had raised the wonderful edifice of scholastic theology. When the eloquent and indefatigable advocate of the Oriental languages, Raymond Lully, appealed in their favor to the University of Paris, King Philip the Fair, and the Council of Vienna, he had nothing in view but the conversion of the infidels. The papal decrees enforcing the teaching of Hebrew and other Oriental languages in the four universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna and Salamanca, do not make the slightest allusion to theology, but simply to the training of missionaries to enable them to carry on more effectively their work of evangelization.

In establishing the chairs the universities showed their obedience to the decrees of the popes and the councils; but the remuneration they gave the so-called converted Jews appointed to those chairs, showed clearly how reluctantly they obeyed. This is why all the efforts of the pioneer advocates of the cause of Hebrew studies had failed completely to arouse

the enthusiasm of the universities, which were of a purely speculative character. The humanists were not more capable of making an impression on the theologians; in fact their tendency was absolutely opposed to that of the universities; and it would have been a sufficient reason for those institutions to wage war against the study of Hebrew, if they had cared enough about it; but they were too indifferent for that. This attitude of the universities explains how for nearly a century the study of Hebrew developed by individual efforts on the part of men who formed the republic of letters, until Francis I, by the establishment of his trilingual college, gave them an organization. It is but fair to say that the humanists, in France at least, never attempted to force the ideas of the Sorbonne. They seem to have understood that the studies they were following had to develop and strengthen before they could pretend to the right of citizenship in the then only officially recognized republic of science. That out-door life had its hardships; it had also its advantages, those of independence, which the humanists seemed to feel above everything. When Francis I. established his college, which was to develop into the unique and far-famed Collége de France, Erasmus, the greatest of the humanists, could not be induced to take charge of it. This, in my opinion, is the best explanation that can be offered of the two parallel but entirely different courses followed by theology on the one side, and philology and historical science on the other, up to our time; and in this fact we have the explanation of the small place allotted to biblical and historical sciences in our programs, and consequently to philology and other sciences of an elementary character. It is to institutions entirely independent of the universities of France that we have to look for those men who fostered the growth of Oriental studies, to the Benedictines, the Oratorians, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belle-Lettres, the Collége de France, and, more recently, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, and the like. The study of Hebrew was carried on vigorously in France, but not its teaching, or at least not its official teaching, to such as were trained for any special profession. Bossuet did not know Hebrew, and yet when he was born (1627), Reuchlin had been dead for 105 years.

The university, moreover, we must say it frankly, was on

the decline. Unable to keep up the high standard it had formerly established in speculative philosophy and theology, it was also incapable of understanding the new methods of positive theology that were then in demand. Its routine work became weaker and weaker in character, the consequence being that the great religious revolution found the clergy entirely unprepared, just as, two centuries later, the civil revolution found the monarchy unable to understand its principles. Still the university kept the upper hand in all decisions, thanks to its servile attachment to the government. Incapable of furthering studies, it kept them down, by a spirit of political rather than religious conservatism. Henry Margival is not far from the truth when he suggests that one of the chief reasons of the opposition of Bossuet to the publication of the *Histoire Critique*, was the unconditioned, perhaps unconscious, attachment of the great orator to the government. Anyhow it remains a fact that neither the distinguished prelate nor his friend and supporter, Nicole of Port Royal, seems to have realized the value of that work. Untrained in such lore they took for dogma what was mere theological opinion, just as they opposed truths that were to be defined as dogmas of the Church. Still the influence of Bossuet was powerful and far-reaching, as we might expect from such a genius; not, however, for the advancement of religious science.

When, under the impulse of the Council of Trent, seminaries were created, nothing definite was prescribed by that Council concerning the course of studies. That was left to the bishops, of whom, in France, the Sorbonne was the principal nursery. The same programs used by the university were adopted.

Besides, the main object of the seminaries was not so much the teaching of theology and of the different branches of study leading to it, as sacerdotal education, which, since the practical disappearance of the cathedral schools, had suffered so much from the lack of proper discipline. The bishops, where they could not find a competent staff of teachers, were left free to send the seminarians to the university; such was the case with the Seminary of St. Sulpice, whose inmates attended the courses of the Sorbonne until the suppression of that body by the revolution.

No reform took place in the programs of the seminaries after the revolution, the only change being that the instruction was uniformly given in the seminary itself by men who had received no special training for their work. This arrangement was undoubtedly a *pis-aller*, the best that could be made under the circumstances. The ranks of the clergy had been considerably thinned out by long political disturbances; the new seminaries had therefore to train priests, and above all to train missionaries, and in that they succeeded fully. As for theologians, it was counted a great deal if they could be as well equipped as before the revolution. So that up to our own times the seminaries continue the policy of the University of Paris, running on a line parallel to and never meeting the line pursued by the philological and historical sciences. A few educators understand that it ought not to be so; we owe them several laudable efforts to bring those two lines in contact; but always by way of additions to the old traditional programs in the theological seminaries, while nothing will be really effective without a complete recast of our programs, not only in the theological seminaries, but also and especially in the preparatory seminaries, where the root of the evil lies.

This question, however, deserves to be treated more exhaustively than can now be done. It will be the subject of another study.

HENRY HYVERNAT.

THE COLLEGE TRAINING OF THE CLERGY.[1]

We are here to mark an epoch in a holy work. We come to rejoice at the well-earned success of Alma Mater, and to attest our appreciation of the labors which, for fifty years, have been so fruitful in the field of ecclesiastical education. Not as members of any one class are we gathered, nor as companions of one college period, nor yet as men to whom life has brought, since our college days ended, an identical experience. Whatever have been the vicissitudes of our maturer years, in the various seminaries of the world, in the many dioceses of our country, in different spheres of priestly activity, beneath unequal burdens of toil or of honor, a common bond unites us to-day; we are alumni of St. Charles' College.

Of those who were the founders and early builders of this institution, nearly all have laid down their tasks forever. Of the thousands who are named on the rolls of the college, too many have learned the last lesson. But the college itself, still young, outlives individual lives. It takes vigor from time, though time prey on master and pupil. It preserves in its growing strength the efforts of the men whom it survives. It brings to reality their fairest ideals and makes part of its lasting heritage the good things for which they hoped. To this over-life of the college, so rich in attainment, not to the success of any one man, we pay tribute. Achievement without the suggestion of limit calls for congratulation with no undertone of regret. Advance, through difficulties perhaps but unchecked by decline, warrants our confidence in the future. A jubilee we certainly keep; but its keynote is the promise of greater activity, not the invitation nor the welcome to repose.

What that activity is and what it shall be, we can best understand by noting the influences which fashion the growth of the college. And such understanding, I venture to say, is specially needful to us, who, for the most part, are absorbed in the work of the ministry. We are apt, without breach of loy-

[1] An address delivered before the faculty and alumni of St. Charles' College, at the celebration of its fiftieth anniversary, June 16, 1898.

alty or lack of interest, to think of St. Charles' as a goodly place, where life runs on in the round of the seasons—a pleasant abode where change is unknown and the spirit of unrest enters not. This fancy, in a measure, is wrought upon fact. It reflects the contrast between our student memories and the actualities that make up our life. It means that we naturally expect both teachers and scholars to be free from many disturbances of the world outside. But fancy should not lead us too far. For this very freedom subjects the college as a whole more completely to the influence of agencies which have exerted a peculiar force during the past fifty years.

To the manifold activities of its environment, the college has given a healthy response. In the number and the choice of its professors, in the modification of its curriculum, in its material equipment and in the standing of its scholars, there has been a wisely directed progress. But to appreciate this progress, we must remember that every step in advance is a means to an end, that there is a final cause which guides the entire movement, and that this too is conceived under varying forms as new and heavier demands are made upon the college. All change, all effort and aspiration for better things, takes place in view of an ideal, and this ideal is the graduate such as his teachers would have him—the finished product who worthily represents their untiring endeavor.

What the ideal graduate shall be, is a question always uppermost in the mind of the college professor. It has of necessity a moral bearing, in view of which we ask, What manner of man shall he be who graduates here? What strength of character, what power of self-control, what love of study and what vigor of initiative is he to possess? What virtues, in a word, entitle him to a place among candidates for the priestly office? To such questions no wordy reply is needed; the answer is given in the lives of those who direct the college, whose hourly example is the most wholesome element of discipline. The one great Pattern which they copy and which they propose to their disciples, is the same yesterday, to-day and forever.

Intellectual training, on the other hand, is largely relative. Its character is determined by the actual needs which it has to meet. And as these needs vary from age to age—we might

say from decade to decade—it stands to reason that we cannot come back too often to the reconsideration, perhaps to the modification, of our ideal. To do this wisely, we must remember that education here has a double purpose; it prepares young men for the work of the seminary, but it also imparts a training which the student must carry through and beyond the seminary into his priestly life. It is by preparing its graduates for their future environment, that the college shows forth its own power of adaptation, and its ideals must therefore be formed, not in any abstract fashion, but with a clear view of the conditions which its graduates are to encounter.

The most general and yet most essential of these conditions has been established by the rapid growth of the Church during the latter half of this century, in the midst of and as a part of the growth of American democracy. This means that the clergy, far from becoming a caste, have found it their duty to enter into the very life of the people, sharing their aspirations, upholding them with the strong arm of sympathy, and intensifying the love of liberty with that reasonable obedience to law which is the safeguard of religion and of government. Such was the mission foreseen by the founders of this college—by the zealous ecclesiastic who conceived the idea, and by the patriot whose generosity hastened its realization. Such is ever the purpose of their successors in this institution. The student who enters these halls has a youthful pride in his country and an enthusiasm for her success that seldom needs stimulation, and will need it less than ever for some years to come. But the student who graduates here – the ideal graduate—has gained a rational insight into the processes, institutions and ideas to which America owes her prosperity and progress—a cultivated discernment enabling him to single out the solid enduring elements of national greatness from those that are specious and passing. With such a training—the deeper lesson of history, our graduate, though by no means a statesman, is not, on the other hand, a mere spectator of political, economic and religious movements. He has learned at any rate to look beneath the surface of things, to seek causes, to detect tendencies, to forecast their issue for good or evil. In a word, he has learned to reflect, and reflection means judgment and judgment is the soul of direction.

Among the factors in our national growth there is one which, even as a student, he must reckon with, because it directly affects his college course. Withdrawn for a time from the stress and strain of life in the world, he is none the less influenced by the development of our educational system and its far-reaching results. To appreciate these, it is not sufficient that we count the schools, colleges and universities that have sprung up during the latter half of the century, that we praise the generosity of their founders or dwell with honest pride upon their world-wide reputation. The natural consequences also—a higher level of intelligence in the people at large, higher standards for teachers and students, wider knowledge of scientific principles, increasing application of theory to the solution of practical problems—these are too obvious and too general for our present purpose. What chiefly concerns our graduate is the spread of that spirit of inquiry which, with varying degrees of accuracy, measures all things and esteems all things according to their relation with the outcome of scientific research.

Now it is true that many things are said and written in the name of science, for which there is no warrant. But how is the student to judge unless he be acquainted with the methods, the principles and the net results of science? And how shall he get that acquaintance unless he be drawn out of himself, brought into contact with nature, taught to observe closely and to think accurately? Such a knowledge of phenomenon and law gained, not merely from books, but by personal experience and practical training, is, beyond doubt, compatible with the best aspirations of the ideal graduate. He may not become a physicist or a chemist or a biologist or a mathematician. His own specialty is higher. But he has cultivated habits of mind that are invaluable. He can appreciate the magical influence of science upon the popular mind and trace that influence from its source in the university to its diffusion through every sort of literary production. He knows that the spirit of inquiry awaits him at every step, and that the questionings of science must be answered in the language of science.

He need not fear that this language is spoken by those

only who are beyond the reach of his ministration, that it is foreign to those who share his belief. Among the men and women who were once perhaps his companions and who will one day look to him for guidance and light, not a few have been prepared for their life-work by the best institutions of the country, by courses of study that are continually adjusted to the advance of knowledge, by instructors who are specialists, perhaps by personal research in some department of science. With this class of Catholics—and it is a growing class—the graduate of St. Charles' may certainly accomplish much. He will at least appreciate the difficulties and even the doubts which scientific views so often stir up in the most loyal minds, and problems that at first sight seemed only theoretical will become of immense practical import, when their solution means the preservation of sacred beliefs.

I am well aware that the great problems just referred to are dealt with in seminary courses—that their final solution must be sought in philosophy or perhaps turned over to theology. But it is also true that no one can to-day pretend to an apprenticeship—to say nothing of a mastery—in philosophy, who has neglected his scientific training. The whole development of philosophy during the past fifty years has been towards a closer union with science; the main duty of our Christian philosophy is the proper interpretation of the laws that science establishes. And while the student of metaphysics may revel in its broad speculations, he cannot detach himself from the basis of concrete fact. If he does so, he may indeed be a college-bred man, but he is not the ideal graduate.

In urging the claims of science, we must not of course forget that over and above the operation of physical law, there are products of the human mind which no system of education can afford to neglect. There is the rich inheritance of literature, in which the imagination and thought of all ages are stored and transmitted. And to this treasure, language is the key.

In the formation of the ideal graduate linguistic study has a three-fold function:

In the first place, that study itself means a development of certain faculties that refuse the more exact discipline of the physical sciences. Hence it has always held a leading place

in education ; hence the untiring efforts of philologists to lay bare the origins and the relations of the various languages. Hence, too, the constant revision of classic texts, and what is more important, the reconstruction, by historical methods, of the circumstances under which those texts were penned. The student who has not only learned the forms and the meaning of words, but has caught the spirit of the classic writers and drawn for himself a picture of their surroundings, has used to good purpose the key of language.

In the second place, this key opens to him a vast storehouse of literature, which serves both as a means of culture and as a source of information. When we consider how much of the scientific thought of our day is given to the world in tongues other than our own, it will be evident that a knowledge of those tongues is more than an accomplishment ; it is an absolute necessity for the student. It is taken for granted, when he enters the seminary, that Latin and Greek are easy reading ; and there should be no question as to his ability to handle publications on philosophy and theology that are written in French and German. When works in these languages monopolize the library dust, there is reason to believe that the ideal graduate has not yet appeared.

In the third place—for this is an ascending scale—comes that language which, as a means of culture and as a source of information, may fairly rival the classic and modern tongues of continental Europe, but which, for the purpose of expression, is unique. The college student receives instruction through many channels, his processes of thought are complex and varied; but the one channel through which he may hope to make his knowledge of use in this country, is the English language. The power to speak and write this clearly and forcibly is the crowning feature of college education, since it enables the graduate to react upon that environment whose influences have moulded his mind.

In our ideal, therefore, we recognize as essential traits an intelligent sympathy with the people among whom he is to labor, habits of observation and accurate thought, familiarity with the languages that are to serve as instruments of research or as the means of expression.

Now this summary is open to criticism. Hasty as the outline has been, might it not all have been shortened into two precepts—put as much as possible into the curriculum, and put as much as possible of the curriculum into the student? I do not think that the professors of this or any other college would be content with such a compendious rule. For the problem of education is not solved merely by multiplying courses of study or by lengthening the time devoted to each course; but rather by giving each study its full educational value, and by so adjusting and balancing all courses that they may produce the result desired.

This is the real aim of the educational movement and of the discussions that it calls forth. This it is that justifies the special training of each teacher and that brings about a proper division of labor among all teachers. This is the warrant for improving methods, for introducing better text-books, for applying severer tests to the student's work. This, finally, is the upward and onward endeavor of our American colleges in the realization of their best ideals.

As alumni of St. Charles', we have more than a passing interest in the development of the college. Here, in great part, are trained the men who must sooner or later take up our work. Here are fostered and perfected the vocations of which we were, in a measure, the early trustees. The work of these teachers is our work; their success is our honor. It is a work that imposes seclusion and routine, a success to be attained by vigilance and sacrifice and care. It is only just that they should find in us a steady support of sympathy and interest and coöperation. The ideal graduate may, in spite of constant approximation, remain an ideal. But the ideal alumnus should be found in every man who claims St. Charles' as his Alma Mater. What that ideal is you can best define who, in gratitude and loyalty, have come to welcome in this jubilee celebration a bright omen for the future of the college.

EDWARD A. PACE.

EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SEMINARY PRESIDENTS.

At the annual meeting of the board of trustees of the Catholic University of America, held in Washington in October, 1897, approval was given to the suggestion of Right Rev. Mgr. Conaty for the holding of a conference of seminary presidents, having as a purpose the general consideration of seminary education and the particular relation of the seminary to university training. After consultation with many of the seminary presidents, an invitation was issued for a meeting, which was held at St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y., on Wednesday, May 25. The following seminaries were represented at the conference: Baltimore, St. Mary's Seminary, Very Rev. A. L. Magnien, S. S., D. D.; Boston, St. John's Seminary, Very Rev. John B. Hogan, S. S., D. D.; Brooklyn, St. John's Seminary, Very Rev. J. Sullivan, C. M.; Cincinnati, Mt. St. Mary's Seminary of the West, Very Rev. J. B. Murray, D. D.; Emmittsburg, Md., Mt. St. Mary's, Very Rev. W. L. O'Hara, D. D.; New York, St. Joseph's Seminary, Very Rev. Edward R. Dyer, S. S., D.D.; Niagara University, Very Rev. Patrick McHale, C. M.; Philadelphia, St. Charles' Seminary, Very Rev. P. J. Garvey, D. D.; San Francisco, Very Rev. A. J. B. Vuibert, S. S., D. D.; Seton Hall, New Jersey, Very Rev. J. J. Synnott, D. D. Letters of approval were read from Very Rev. J. F. Butler, O. F. M., St. Bonaventure's Seminary, Alleghany, N. Y.; Very Rev. Athanasius Schmitt, O. S. B., St. Meinrad's Seminary, Indiana; Very Rev. N. A. Moss, D. D., St. Mary's Seminary, Cleveland; Very Rev. Francis V. Nugent, C. M., Kenrick Seminary, St. Louis, and Very Rev. P. R. Heffron, D. D., St. Paul Seminary, Minnesota. The professors of St. Joseph's Seminary were invited to attend and take part in the conference.

The proceedings opened at 10 o'clock and continued throughout the day. Right Rev. Mgr. Conaty presided and

Very Rev. W. L. O'Hara, of Mt. St. Mary's Seminary, acted as secretary. Mgr. Conaty made the opening address, which the conference unanimously asked to have published. The matter of organization was discussed, and it was voted to form a permanent organization, to be known as "The Educational Conference of Seminary Faculties." Committees were appointed to discuss topics relative to seminary work, as also the relations of the seminaries to the University in the higher education of the clergy. It was felt that this first conference was more in the nature of a preparation for future work. A standing committee, consisting of the Very Revs. A. L. Magnien, P. J. Garvey, P. McHale and J. B. Murray, was appointed to take charge of the work of the next conference, and to invite all seminary faculties to attend and become members. The Very Rev. L. Colin, Superior of the Seminary of St. Sulpice, Montreal, was present as a guest of the conference, and in his address he emphasized very strongly the importance of such a conference for the proper discussion of educational work, and the importance of proper preparation for the superior education in the University. Very Rev. E. J. Purbrick, S. J., Provincial of the Jesuits, was also asked to address the conference, and gave a most interesting and detailed account of the work of the educational conference in England, in which he had so large a part. He urged very strongly the importance of an educational conference as a means of better acquaintance among teachers, and a more perfect systematizing of educational work.

The conference voted to hold the next meeting in Philadelphia, at St. Charles' Seminary, the 1st of September, 1899. To this conference seminary professors, as well as the presidents, will be invited.

The members of the conference were entertained by the president and faculty of St. Joseph's Seminary, and among the guests present at dinner were : Most Rev. Archbishop Corrigan, Fathers Purbrick, Provincial of the Jesuits ; L. Colin, president of St. Sulpice Seminary, Montreal ; T. J. Campbell, S. J.. president of St. John's College, Fordham, New York, and Brother Justin, superior of the Christian Brothers. The

conference held several sessions during the day, and adjourned at 8 o'clock P. M., to meet in Philadelphia, September, 1899.

ADDRESS OF THE RIGHT REVEREND RECTOR.

VERY REV. AND REV. FATHERS: In calling this meeting to order, I cannot help congratulating you upon the generosity with which the demand for it has been met by those in charge of our seminary education. The presence of so many superiors of theological institutions gives evidence of an earnest interest in all that tends to advancement in the education of the clergy.

This conference is the outgrowth of a feeling, more or less defined, that our educational system calls for an organization in which the leaders of our educational thought may meet to discuss the means and methods by which the best results in education may be attained. Happily we have reached the day when the Church in this country is prepared to give answer to the educational demands of all classes of our people. Schools, colleges, seminaries and universities are found in different sections of our country, thoroughly equipped in the interest of a profounder and more extensive knowledge. Yet, though many of them are in excellent condition and well prepared for the work which they undertake to do, there is on all sides a consciousness that the work is being done by independent and individual units, without that cohesiveness which comes from the unity of purpose and the harmony of parts.

To bring together representatives of those educational agencies, to effect a harmonizing of all parts of the system, cannot be without good results; for at least it will serve to introduce men to one another, open up discussions upon topics of common interest, give an opportunity to compare methods and develop a proper feeling as to the best way of attaining the greatest good in education. Besides all that, there is the need of organization that we may realize that our different schools are not disjointed elements of a system, but that one hinges upon the other, and that all should be closely bound together, in order the better to move in solid phalanx in the interests of knowledge and religion.

In studying the different phases of our educational life, it occurred to me that a movement toward a conference such as this would be productive of great good. In an experience of twenty-five years, it has been my privilege to come in contact with all classes of educational work, and it has always seemed to me that there has been lacking a spirit of organization of our different forces, which has interfered with our general success. This thought prompted me to suggest, at the meeting of the trustees of the University last October, the feasibility of an

educational conference, first with the directors of seminaries, and afterwards with the rectors of colleges, to discuss the general aims and purposes of education, to consider and compare methods and to study out the question of organization. This suggestion met with the favor of the trustees, and as a result you are gathered here.

This conference, as the first of its kind among us, must be more in the nature of preparation for future methodical and systematic work. One of its objects must be to study the necessity and importance, as well as a method, of organization, so that we must look forward to subsequent conferences for the results we desire. The most we can do now is to establish the principle of an educational conference, which in the years to come will bear practical fruit.

My relation to this conference is largely that of one who presumes to call men together, and at least set in motion the machinery, by virtue of which a power may be generated which will be productive of substantial educational good. We come together as friends of the higher education of the clergy. Upon us devolves the responsibility of shaping and moulding the future religious leaders of our people; and we draw our inspiration from the spirit of work for the greater glory of God and the interests of religion in the United States. Now that the work of education in this country finds its culmination and its crown in the Catholic University, established by the Holy See at the earnest demand of the bishops in council assembled, it seems proper that a conference of seminary presidents, such as this, may also give careful consideration to the true relations which should exist between the University and the seminary as well as all the other parts of the system of which the University is the head.

We have reached the time in our church life when ecclesiastical scholarship, in the true sense of the word, is demanded of us. To effect that scholarship, to make it more general, to place it within the call of our earnest and ambitious young clerics, should be the aim and object of our work, as well as the desire of our hearts, and every branch of the system should be made to contribute, in a perfect form, its portion to the great whole, which should find its complete perfection in the graduate of the University. A two-fold relation presents itself to us; first, the relation of the seminary to the University and the consequent preparation which the seminary should make for university work; and, second, the standard of seminary work which the university requirements demand, which latter would lead to a consideration of the program of studies necessary for such a standard.

UNIVERSITY AND SEMINARY.

The University and the seminary are closely bound to one another; one is built upon the other, and both are built upon the college. The University is not something far away and standing by itself, with pretensions which ignore the existence of other educational agencies. It is an integral part of the system, closely bound up with and depending upon the other parts. The same blood courses through its veins, the same interests actuate its life, the same aims and purposes bind it to success. It leads to greater heights the men whom the other parts of the system have equipped for the work of climbing. Its students come from college and seminary; its graduates often go back to college and seminary as valuable aids in the work of preparation. It is not independent—indeed it is very dependent. No one among you is without close relation to the public life of the clergy and the laity, and all realize the demands of education, as also the vast increasing needs of the Church—needs that are constantly pressing, especially in our day and generation. As the number of priests increases in our dioceses, the opportunities for wider and deeper study must necessarily present themselves to our talented young ecclesiastics.

The day of so-called pioneer work in the Church, especially in our eastern section, is over; in fact, we may say that the day of material church building is practically over. We have reached the point where it becomes necessary to develop the intellectual and social qualities of our people, as well as the religious. Our young cleric must be prepared to meet the issues of the hour—issues no longer between the true Church of Christ and the sects, but between revealed religion and all forms of agnosticism and false individualism. He must be equipped to defend science against so-called scientific unbelief, to answer all the questions of intellectual and scientific thought, to maintain the perfect harmony that exists between religion and science, to enter the fields of history and archæology in defense of the Church, to protect and preserve the Word of God in this day of Biblical criticism, against the iconoclasm of sectaries. He must also be prepared to enter into the field of social and economic reform, to take a leading part in prison and reformatory work, and to be an element in all charitable endeavors. The battle of the future is to be a philosophical battle, as well as scientific and historical. It will be a defense of the very foundations of belief.

Scholarship is demanded in the leaders who are commissioned to defend the truth. The time has come when the scholarship of the clergy should give to the Church that bril-

liancy which shone forth in the scholarship of past ages. This scholarship should find expression in polished writing as well as in elegant speech. We need writers as well as preachers. To send forth finished scholars, it is necessary that the groundwork be well done; that school and college and seminary train the youth on lines that will furnish proper material for the university finishing.

I may be permitted to state here what appears to the University to be the relations which it holds toward the seminaries. No clearer statement can be made than that which appears in the words of our holy father, Leo XIII, in his apostolic letter of March 7, 1889, to the episcopate of the United States. He said: "We exhort you to endeavor to have your seminaries, colleges, and other Catholic institutions of learning affiliated to the University, as is suggested in its statutes, leaving, nevertheless, a perfect freedom of action; omnium tamen libertate salva et incolumi." We see clearly the mind of the holy father, that all the different parts of our educational system should be affiliated with and lead to the University. This is expressed in the general constitutions of the University, chapter 8, number 4: "Colleges or seminaries, without losing their independence, may be affiliated to the University by the authority of the board of trustees, in which case the diplomas granted by these institutions will entitle the holders of them to admission to the University."

PREPARATION FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

Established as the University has been for the higher education of the clergy and laity, it stands to-day prepared to do university work in the true sense of the word. It is neither a seminary nor a college—in this sense at least: that it does not aim to, nor is it prepared to, do the work for which the seminary and the college exist. In the true university sense, it aims to begin where both college and seminary leave off. Unfortunately, for good work, the University is often obliged to make up for the defects of both seminary and of college, and thus waste valuable time both of teacher and of scholar. The reason of these defects, in my judgment, may often be found in the imperfect understanding of the relations which the different institutions hold to one another. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the work of the University is not a repetition, even in a more scholarly way or on a broader scale, of the work done in the seminary or in the college. A leading idea of the University is specialization, and this has rather to do with the development and specializing of certain branches

and the giving of superior training in them. Not all the students of the University are called to be specialists. Only the very few can ever hope to realize that ambition. For the most part, all that the University can be expected to do is to incline men to serious study, and thus fit them for practical work in their dioceses. We cannot hope to find in the many a taste for special research, but we can and do hope that all will be taught to be accurate in what they know and thus acquire a certain perfect formation, while a few will be attracted to specialization. The University aims to broaden and develop the spirit of scholarship—in fact to make scholars—men of research, capable of distinguishing the true from the false, no matter in what disguise error may appear, knowing how to reach the source of information and make accurate every statement. Hence the necessity of good general theological culture on the part of those who enter as students of the faculty of theology. This general culture is a necessary basis for serious and successful special studies, whether in the field of theology, of history, or of sacred scripture. It is important to have the spirit of scholarship developed in college and seminary training, the love of learning for learning's sake, that taste which goes far toward forming the scholar.

It is not necessary to emphasize the conclusion reached by every one who considers the situation, namely, that the student coming from the seminary to the University should have an excellent training in philosophy, dogma, moral theology, Church history, and a general introduction to sacred scripture. He should be prepared to enter into the workshop of the University, there to be taught how to use to the best advantage the tools with which his seminary life have made him familiar—the tools that will permit him to carve for himself a special place in any department of ecclesiastical science. He should be prepared to begin work which will have the stamp of his own individuality, that thus he may begin to fit himself to contribute to the fund of the world's knowledge. He ought to be skilled in the use both of Greek and Latin and in the elements of Hebrew, as these are the languages that contain the original documents of all his studies. He should not be satisfied with what is handed down to him by translation, but as a scholar he should be prepared to study the originals. It is also highly desirable that there should be a knowledge of French and German, because these languages contain what is regarded as the best modern theological literature, most of which has not as yet been translated into English.

The papers for the baccalaureate examination express the conditions which the University considers requisite, in order

that an ecclesiastic may matriculate for university degrees. The question has been sometimes discussed as to whether these requirements are beyond the standard reached by the seminaries, and whether a better dovetailing of the work may be made. A conference like this will go far towards answering such questions intelligently.

There is no doubt that the omission of certain studies in seminaries acts as a serious handicap upon a student coming to a university that requires those studies as a foundation for its special work. Every one will realize the difficulty of the student when presenting himself for special studies in Holy Scripture, who has never studied Hebrew in the seminary and has forgotten what little Greek he learned in the college. He may be a brilliant student, and may become a fair exegete, but with his brilliant talents and satisfactory work what tremendous advantages would be within his reach, were he capable of reading the text in the original Hebrew or Greek! The same is true as far as the Greek and Latin are concerned in the study of Church history, while French and German give an entrée to-day, not only to science, but also to the best theological literature. If we are in earnest, then, to lead the clergy of the Church in America to the heights of scholarship, we must see to the foundations, as also to the general educational structure upon which scholarship is to be built.

GROWTH OF THE UNIVERSITY.

This is the message of the University to the seminaries in this conference. It is a word of encouragement and a word of advice. The University is the highest expression of the Church in education, and to us Americans, our University should be the pride and idol of our hearts. It was a bold step on the part of the bishops to inaugurate the University; but the educational system was not complete until the University was established. Like all institutions, the University is of slow growth; that which springs into being in a night oftentimes fades and withers before the morning sun. It has taken many years to develop our seminaries and place them upon the splendid footing of to-day. Like them, the University is not merely for our day and generation, it has been built for the centuries. It is as yet in its youth, and must experience all the difficulties that come with youth. Yet in looking over the nine years that separate us from its first scholastic days, we have no reason to be ashamed of the position it occupies in the higher education of the clergy and the laity. It has not done all that it has wished to do, because, on the one hand, some of the work that came to it for perfection was imperfectly done,

and on the other, many of its students could not be spared from their dioceses long enough to give them time for proper university development. Yet more than two hundred priests have passed through the University; nearly sixty have received its licentiate, and two hold its doctorate. Others could have reached the honors of the University doctorate, if they could have been spared from their dioceses for the years needed to undertake the severe labor which it demands.

It is encouraging to note that there are now three students who are preparing for their doctorate in theology, which they hope to secure at the end of another year. Among its graduates are found men who are to-day doing glorious work for the Church in different sections of the country, and adding honor to the degrees which the University bestowed upon them.

The time has come now, and the University is better prepared than ever, to take a step forward to still better work for the clergy and laity of the United States ; but it needs the continued co-operation of the seminaries and the colleges ; it needs the touch that gives ambition for work as well as direction ; it needs the friendliness that comes with the kindly word of direction and the conscientious co-operation in the preparation for the work. We should be proud that we have in our country an institution capable of doing as good work as any institution of the kind in the world ; that it is no longer necessary that our students go abroad for higher development, but that our own Catholic University stands at our very doors to give us the very best possible scientific training in university lines. Clergymen from our own dioceses, having fitted themselves by the best training in Europe, stand ready to lead our young men to the loftiest heights of ecclesiastical learning.

The University welcomes the day of this conference, and rejoices that through its deliberations we may hope for a more uniform standard of seminary training, as well as more complete development of seminary work on lines that will lead to general theological culture, making our young men not only pious priests and good theologians, but masters of their own language and cultured gentlemen, worthy to be presented to their bishops as candidates for the highest scholarship, thus to become in their day the ornaments of the Church, as well as the teachers of the people.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THEOLOGY.

A Manual of Catholic Theology, based on Scheeben's "Dogmatik," by Joseph Wilhelm, Ph. D., and Thomas B. Scannell, B. D., vol. II. The Fall, Redemption, Grace; The Church and the Sacraments; The Last Things. New York: Benziger Bros., 1898. 8°, pp. 566, $4.00 net.

Every educated Catholic layman, who cares for a scientific knowledge of the teachings of the Catholic Church, should possess this book. It is an adaptation, in English dress, of a well known and favorite manual of Catholic theology. For some time there has been a marked tendency to present Catholic truth in languages that the modern man can understand and appreciate, and we have already had occasion to call attention in these pages to several commendable works of this nature. The work of Fathers Wilhelm and Scannell is without doubt the most perfect of the kind. The doctrine is sure, the salient points well chosen, the divisions natural and historical. The disposition of exposé, proofs and objections is marked by a good sense of proportions and reserve, which permits the housing of a vast deal of accurate knowledge within a comparatively small space.

The priest is familiar with many theologies, in Latin or other tongues; theology is the substance of his Mass and breviary; his conversation and reading naturally take the same course. But the layman of culture has not had such advantages; the catechism, the religious weekly, the sermon, an occasional stiff translation of some antiquated work—this has been all the pabulum offered to him outside of the vast polemics of the day. Is it too much to hope that the new theological literature will be largely in the English vernacular, imitating in that the almost universal practice of our German Catholic brethren, and even of the French. Indeed, the work of Scheeben was itself written in German.

The modern vernaculars are mighty engines of influence. The future is to them; they are charged with the experiences, the sympathies, the hopes, the peculiar idealism of these last epoch-making centuries. They cannot, it is true, cut loose from the classic tongues, whose life and spirit and power and charm overlap them on all sides, and are forever blended with them. Nevertheless, they have their own genius and raciness, their own short and rapid transit to the modern heart. The supple elegance of the French, the mysticism and gravity of the German, the measure and the music of the Italian, the manifold composite efficacy of the English, with its rainbow-like blending of excellencies—all these dispute successfully with the Latin and the Greek the palm of literary merit. Every one of them is forming to some future greatness the peoples of its bailiwick, with the same intensity and thoroughness as the Latin formed to majesty the rude tiller of the Campanian soil, or the Greek to grace and harmony the "grasshoppers" of Athens. Now, theology has the right to, and the need of, literary perfection. Not the least charm of the Bible is in the solemn rhythm of the psalm and the sublime imagery of the prophets, whereby, with Orphic skill, the hearts of men are ravished Godwards, and made a heavenly booty. Language is the surest exponent of the popular ethos. Through the slow-treading centuries, and the endless vicissitudes of men and things, it bears, conservative at once and progressive, the institutions, habits, impulses and longings of its adherents. Hence, theology, like all other branches of literature, must speak with perfection the language of the people it would dominate. Can any one doubt that the literary skill of Origen counted for much in the Christian proselytism of the third century, or that the English-speaking churches have laid up in the classicism of Newman one of their most powerful attractions in the coming century? Are not Bossuet and Fénelon and Massillon and Bourdaloue a safe harbor for the faith of the venerable churches of France, of more immediate value than the Latin mystics of Clairvaux and Saint Victor?

Far be it from us to disparage the rights and the uses of the Latin tongue! Too long has it served the indispensable purposes of administration, worship, doctrine and communion, as

an instrument of teaching, to set it aside. Too intimately is it united with the ordinary life of the Church, and too many are the solemn uses made of it by the Holy Spirit. So true is this, that were it to disappear, we should need to reconstruct its ruins in order to fully understand the life of the Christian Church. It is, indeed, as Gregory Thaumaturgus long since expressed himself in the presence of Origen, "a wonderful and magnificent sort of language, and one very aptly conformable to imperial authority." De Maistre called it "le signe Européen," meaning thereby that it stood for all the religion, culture and letters of the Old World. Nor is it worn out or helpless, though it has strangely outlived itself, and found a second and imperishable life on the lips of men it once doomed to extinction. In its secular rivalry with the Greek, it has shown that it was made of sterner and severer stuff, and that it could lose pliancy and elegance and all its sorely-earned portion of "eurythmy" without breaking up its manly vigor, its bluff directness, and that certain haunting echo of the imperious bugle, that fierce compelling cry to arms that filled with horror the breasts of the rude ancestors of modern Europe. Alone it can fill the demand for a universal tongue of commerce and administration. Alone it may yet enter upon a third stadium of influence and power when at some future date

> super et Garamantas et Indos
> Proferet imperium.

There are some improvements we could wish in a future edition of this excellent manual. It would be well to distinguish the principal paragraphs in each chapter by salient catchwords in strong dark type. The volume of doctrine might be increased by introducing into the text, in smaller type, paragraphs devoted to the literary history of many doctrines, the evolution of defence and illustration, the minor domestic or foreign polemics aroused about them from time to time. This might as well be done in foot-notes or excursus. A more extensive modern literature would be greatly welcomed, including not only the best books printed by Catholics, but a suitable selection of works from non-Catholic sources. Where the authors have used the latest and best editions of the text

of the Fathers, e. g., those editions of the Latin Fathers so far issued by the Academy of Vienna, we would like to see the fact noted. Indeed, a full bibliography, after the manner of that preceding the volumes of Janssen's History of the German People, would greatly enhance the utility of this manual.

PHILOSOPHY.

Motion: Its Origin and Conservation. Rev. Walter McDonald, D. D. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1898; pp. xi+457.

The author's chief purpose is to vindicate for himself and for Catholic professors generally, "the right to teach in accordance with the kinetic theory of activity, whatever may be the science on which they are engaged—physics, metaphysics, theology, or anything else." The commonly held dynamic theory recognizes in the production of motion four really distinct entities: the substance of the agent, the faculty of moving, the "force" exerted while the agent is in motion, and the movement that ensues. Motion therefore "does not pass from one agent into another without losing its individuality, but is produced *de novo* in every object that begins to move." According to the kinetic theory, "there is no such thing as 'force' really distinct from the permanent faculty and the motion which is caused therein. The motion of the faculty is itself the only force, activity, action, formal cause of efficient causality. And motion passes quite readily from one agent into another without losing its individuality." It is this latter view that Dr. McDonald adopts as the basis of his speculation throughout the essay.

In this sense he interprets the teaching of Aristotle and St. Thomas. Modern physicists are also called in as witnesses, not to establish the truth of the kinetic theory, but to show that the tendency now is in its favor; a noteworthy symptom being the disposition to give up completely the form of energy lately known as "potential" or "energy of position." Similarly, in examining the intrinsic evidence, the author aims, not so much to defend the theory itself, as to show that it is not at variance with Catholic teaching.

After warding off the charge of occasionalism which dyna-

mists urge against the kinetic theory, he proceeds to a detailed analysis of the concepts on which the theory is based. It is possible here to give but a summary of what is contained in the chapters on Continuity, Resistance and Attraction. Motion, though an accident, is transferred from subject to subject, because the two subjects become by contact really, though incompletely, one individual. The problem, then, is to explain the manner in which motion passes within a continuous mass. This passage is not due to any force which is really distinct from motion. "All that is required is that the parts should be impenetrable, and that some one should be moved in the direction of the others; which means that it should be conserved in existence or continuously created by God, in a place previously occupied by one of the other parts of the mass." The allied phenomena of attraction are still shrouded for the most part in mystery; but the promise of their final explanation is held out by the kinetic rather than by the dynamic theory.

To understand the production of accidental forms a distinction is necessary. All the accidents found in a creature at the first instant of its existence are concreated with the substance; God is the sole efficient cause. When, subsequently, transmutation takes place, the causes are God and the created substance. As to substantial forms, God is the only efficient physical cause of their eduction; the operation of the created agent is restricted to the production in matter of accidental dispositions to which the various species of substantial forms are immediately due.

Living things are those which move themselves or are moved independently of any external created cause from which their movements may proceed, but not independently of a previous action on the part of God, whereby these spontaneous motions are excited within the vital faculties. Those vital actions which proceed from the will require also a divine premotion. Freedom of the will essentially consists not in a power of passing at pleasure from inactivity to action, without being moved by any other agent, nor in any faculty of determining a general motion to a particular direction, but in the capacity of abstaining from a motion once received.

The dynamic theory dispenses with the necessity of divine coöperation in the action of creatures ; it moreover lessens the force of one of the principal arguments for the existence of God. This argument is based on the inability of the material universe to produce a new substance or a new force, and on the fact that substances and forces have been and are continually being produced. The dynamist is not in a position to uphold this argument against the evolutionist and the materialist.

From this outline it is clear that Dr. McDonald's theory emphasizes the Catholic teaching in regard to God's activity in the universe, while it would eliminate forces distinct from created faculty. The far-reaching character of his propositions is obvious. It obliges him to touch on matters that have long been the subject of theological controversy. In so doing, however, his intention is to set forth certain fundamental principles rather than to decide any of the issues. His essay is, for the most part, philosophical. That there are difficulties in the application of the kinetic theory, he frankly admits. Qualitative changes, especially such as mental processes, necessitate a recourse to analogy ; they are motions, but are not true local disturbances. In regard also to the origin of mechanical motion, from the standpoint of science, the results of speculation are unsatisfactory. But so far as the conditions of the vast problem permit, Dr. McDonald's attempt at a solution is interesting. The kinetic theory may or may not be true ; but since its rôle in modern scientific thought is so important, the Christian philosopher should understand its bearings and enlist it, so far as possible, in the service of philosophic truth.

Les Origines de la Psychologie Contemporaine. D. Mercier, Louvain, Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1897. Pp. x+486.

Under the direction of Mgr. Mercier, the Institut Supérieur de Philosophie at Louvain, founded by Leo XIII, has rendered excellent service to the cause of the new scholasticism. Its work consists not merely in repeating and reprinting the language of the schoolmen, but rather in giving new vigor to scholastic philosophy by bringing its principles into contact with modern thought. The *Revue Néo Scholastique*, now in

its fifth year, and the growing *Bibliothèque*, comprising publications on the most varied and most important philosophical subjects, are evidences that the Institut takes its work seriously. Its progressive spirit is further shown by the adoption of modern methods, especially in psychology, for which a laboratory and regular courses of experiment are provided. In psychology, however, as in every other science, beside the investigation of particular problems, we have to recognize the influence of certain leading and guiding ideas, which, when traced to their sources, reveal the origin of the science as it now exists.

The study which Mercier gives us in this volume is historical, but it is also critical in the true sense of that term. It points out the defects of various systems, yet shows a high appreciation of individual thinkers and a readiness to accept their contributions to knowledge. The scholastic philosophy is held to be the best interpretation of the facts brought to light by experimental psychology, but the possibility and the necessity of developing scholasticism is also made clear. Adherence to any system means that "it is considered, on the whole, as the most adequate expression of truth, but not that it is a finished monument before which the mind has only to wrap itself in an ecstacy of sterile contemplation."

The fundamental thesis of scholastic psychology is that man is one substance, composed of matter and of an immaterial soul. This unity Descartes failed to comprehend; hence, on the one hand, an exaggerated spiritualism, and, on the other, a mechanical explanation of all extra-mental phenomena. From these Cartesian sources, Mercier traces the evolution of idealism, positivism and modern mechanicism. Turning then to the psychology of the day as expounded by Spencer, Fouillée and Wundt, he finds in it three general characteristics: its object is limited to the facts of consciousness, it abandons metaphysics for monism, and it attaches a growing importance to psychological experiment.

As an offset to these tendencies, historical and actual, we have an outline of Aristotelian and scholastic anthropology, followed by a critical examination of the principles of idealism, mechanicism and positivism. The closing chapter of the

book gives an interesting account of the modern Thomistic movement, and two appendices furnish statistical information concerning the teaching of philosophy and experimental psychology.

It is chiefly the philosophical factors in this development that Mercier discusses; and he consequently leads his reader very far into the broad fields of metaphysics and epistemology. Without detriment to this plan, more emphasis might have been laid on the progress of sciences like physiology and physics, which have certainly had a share in the growth of modern psychology. Again, in pointing out the general characteristics of the science, our author mentions but one of the methods at present employed. Experiment, it is true, has yielded good results; but the application of the genetic method is no less important. The student, however, who wishes to get clear notions on the modern philosophy of mind and its origin will find this work useful. Its closing exhortation, urging Catholic philosophers to take an active interest in experimental psychology, is significant and instructive.

Christian Philosophy: A Treatise on the Human Soul. Rev. John T. Driscoll, S. T. L. Albany: James B. Lyon, 1898. Pp. xiii +269.

The problems discussed in this volume are of paramount importance. Their solution, by general consent, is to be sought in the domain of philosophy. With many systems to choose from, Father Driscoll adopts that which is "enunciated in the catechism and systematized by the schoolmen, especially St. Thomas." He is, however, aware that the progress of psychology and the kindred sciences has produced an extensive literature, and his acquaintance with it is evidenced by frequent citations and references, which, in spite of some misspelling, will be helpful to the reader. To the new department of psycho-physics, he attaches little importance, being convinced that "its real aim and influence are materialistic." This view, of course, is not shared by the majority of those who actually employ experimental methods in psychology. Few, in fact, would care to make the large concession that the existence of psycho-physics as a science "is to materialists the

one direct proof of their position." And every one will agree with our author that "science, sifted of all imaginations and assumptions, vindicates the contention of sound philosophy and proclaims the true dignity of man." Quite in accord with this statement is the section devoted to the relation between thought and brain structure. On this point, the findings of anatomy, physiology and anthropology are accepted and turned to profit, though the finders were not all imbued with spiritualistic philosophy.

The arrangement of the work is orderly, and each chapter is well divided. Various theories are stated concisely and subjected to criticism. The historical summaries are a good feature, and occasional extracts show that poetry has its place even in philosophic discussions. The value of the book as a manual would be greater if the running head indicated the subject of each chapter, and if the list of contents at the beginning gave a clue to the pagination.

HISTORY.

Armellini. Lezioni di Archeologia Cristiana, Opera Postuma, Rome, 1898. Cuggiani, 8vo., pp. 649, with portrait of the author.

For fifty years the soil of Rome, Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and the ancient Christian Orient has been giving up, in abundance and variety, the monuments of Christian antiquity, chiefly those of a funerary character. Old libraries and archives have yielded not a little, and the early ecclesiastical writers, re-read in the new light thus obtained, have been scarcely less generous than catacomb or manuscript. As a result, there is a new science asking for admission to the programs of our faculties of theology in seminary and university,—the science of Christian Archæology.

Quite an array of books, mostly adaptations of De Rossi's Roma Sotteranea, exists, in which the results of the catacomb excavations may be found. Special treatises on many interesting points have exhausted the pertinent archæological materials. But there was still wanting a satisfactory guide or manual which would induct the curious into a scientific intelligence of the known materials, and give them an insight into

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the history of the science and the methods of its creators. No more praiseworthy attempt has been made than the publication of this posthumous work of Signor Mariano Armellini, long associated with De Rossi as a co-laborer in the excavation of the catacombs and the interpretation of their monuments.

The subject-matter of the book falls under the five heads, Christianity and the Contemporary Society, the Cemeteries, the Christian Art of the Cemeteries, Church Discipline, Christian Inscriptions. Under the first rubric are gathered the indications furnished by Christian archæology as to the spread of Christianity, and its relations with the Roman nobility and the synagogue. Then follows an account of the professions and trades among the Christians, their posts of honor, the names, honorable and opprobrious, given them, baptismal names, the dress of the faithful,—in a word, a picture of the "Church of the Brethren" before Constantine. Under the title of Cemeteries we have a general account of the burial-places of the ancient Christians, their origin, number, nature and administration. The best known of these cemeteries are then described at length, and a better, more accurate guide could nowhere be found. The Art of the Early Christians, ornamental, symbolic, biblical, allegorical, dogmatic, is explained at length in the third section of the work. In the fourth, the author has collected a multitude of archæological evidences as to the use of the sacraments and sacramentals, the liturgy, the hierarchy, the consecrated virgins, the Church chant, and the like. Finally, in the section devoted to Christian Inscriptions—the chief source of our archæological knowledge—we learn of the status of persons in the Christian society; of the form, dates, and other peculiarities of Christian inscription, and certain criteria, general and special, by which they may be recognized as distinct from the Gentile inscriptions.

It will be seen that we have here a new chapter in the history of theology—nothing less than the archæology of theology, what is sometimes called, with more or less justice, monumental theology. Had Armellini lived to edit this valuable book, no doubt he would have added some much-needed improvements—chapters on the history of the science, on its peculiar methods and their evolution, on its sources and its lit-

erature, on its relations to profane archæology, Church history, dogmatic theology, and patrology. Many sections of the book would have been enlarged, and a great many minor defects apparent to the scientific reader would have disappeared.

As it lies before us, the book is made up from the lecture-notes of Armellini, who taught this science at the Propaganda and Sant'Apollinare; it wants, therefore, the *cachet* of his genius, being only the skeleton of the science as this master had conceived it. Withal, it is a step in advance, and may well encourage others to something more perfect by utilizing the material so patiently gathered and sifted. Theological students will feel themselves indebted to Signor Asproni for the publication of his friend's useful handbook. They also owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. E. Stevenson, Jr., for the preparatory letter in which he calls attention to the nature and value of this attractive science, refutes the objections urged against it, and shows the real utility of it for the study of historical theology, as well as for political and institutional history.

The life of Armellini was laborious and saintly, mostly spent in the bowels of the earth, away from the earth's turmoil. It is a strangely peaceful face, lit up by some inner mystic joy, that looks out at us from the frontispiece. Surely he had caught something of the spirit of deep mental rest that seems the chief characteristic of the typical Christian before Constantine. How often it comes back, *Vixit in pace, In pace quievit!* Over their heads were agitated the interests of nations and kingdoms. The envoys of a hundred peoples, a thousand cities, hastened feverishly by the modest entrances to those abodes of a peace more secure than the Pax Romana they were seeking. While the spade of the Christian fossor was undermining the soil of vineyard and olive grove, the doctrine of the Christian priest was burrowing through ancient society and noiselessly exploding its vanities and follies, its hollow pomp and its weak defenses of tradition and interest. It was then and there that were laid on the bodies and in the blood of the martyrs the deep foundations of triumphant Christianity. The latter is built upon many tiers of lives

joyously sacrificed that the society might live. No wonder that its vigor seems undying, its sap exhaustless !

We trust this introduction to early Church history, dogmatic theology, the science of the Fathers, the institutions of Christianity, will be read by many priests and laymen. It will surely rouse the zeal of the former, enliven the faith of the latter, and increase in both the warmth of Christian charity.

The Formation of Christendom. By T. W. Allies, K. C. S. G. Vol. IV. As Seen in Church and State. New York: Benziger Bros., 1898, 8°, pp. 452. $1.35.

Mr. Allies is a philosophic historian. His work is already a classic ; and this new and handy edition will be welcome to all who have been instructed and elevated by the pages of this beautiful book. In profoundness and accuracy of philosophical and theological thought, it compares favorably with any of the modern Catholic writers on the subject. The volumes of M. de Broglie on "Church and State in the Fourth Century," are not superior. The student must not look in such a work for the detail of the narrative. Only the leading facts, the great visible outlines, the large framework, are brought into view. Such histories are written to illustrate and justify, on a great scale, the conduct and principles of a vast society stretching over many centuries, and extending its operations throughout the whole world. Of course there is room for improvement; the Catholic writer has yet to appear who will combine the minuteness of a Gibbon with his splendor of style, his compactness of description, and his shrewdness of comment. In the meantime, the work of Mr. Allies is valuable for both priest and layman. There was a time when it might be thought beyond the grasp of the latter—one would scarcely maintain that now.

The present volume opens with the prophetic kingdom of Daniel as interpreted by St. Augustine, to whose school Mr. Allies belongs. The relations between this spiritual power and the civil power are discussed, as they existed before and after Christ. In these chapters the reader will find useful instructions on several great fundamental human institu-

tions. The transmission of this spiritual power by Jesus Christ to His Apostles, and their establishment of it on earth, and particularly in the Roman empire (A. D. 29-325), take up the rest of the volume. Here we have not properly a history of the early Church, but rather a philosophic-historical discussion of its foundation based on the principal testimonies, of the episcopal character of the earliest communities, and the divine appointment of the Eucharistic Sacrifice as the life-center of the new society. The divine independence of this society is shown by the growth *ad intra* of its own institutions of administration, and by its assertion of its own specific teachings, positively and negatively, notably by its conflicts with Judaism, heresy, idolatry, philosophy and the Roman state.

It is a pity that such a laborious work should not be provided with indications of the extensive literature, ancient and modern. When the modern student undertakes to read a work *de longue haleine*, he expects to be repaid not only by the perusal of the writer's own views, but also by the exhibition of the genetic process by which he acquired them, or by the knowledge of the authors, old and new, who helped to form his opinions. The exhibition of such a literature is not a matter of vanity; it is a matter of justice to the reader, who has a right to form his opinions independently of the *ipse dixit* of the author. Moreover, such a custom would encourage many to go farther, and develop more specially individual points or questions, besides bringing to the knowledge of the busy a number of excellent books or articles that had otherwise escaped their notice.

Geffroy, Etudes Italiennes, Colin et Cie, Paris, 1898, 8°, pp. 309.

Rome and Florence furnish the material of this volume of literary remains of the late M. Geffroy, director of the French School of History and Archæology at Rome. Studies on the great Medici, Savonarola, and Guicciardini; on the monuments of Rome in the Middle Ages; the legend of Beatrice Cenci; the Piranesi as collectors of monuments, and the vandalism of the modern Italian administrators of the city, make a very interesting volume, none the less valuable that some of them have already appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,

to which M. Geffroy had long been a contributor. Notably good are the papers on Savonarola and Guicciardini, in which the former's sincerity of purpose and singleness of heart are set forth in a clear light, while the latter's weakness of character and moral obliquity are brought out in a relief no less striking than his rare literary genius and his unequalled talent for fine and accurate observation. The volume is also commendable for the justice with which it abates the anti-papal elements of the legend of Beatrice Cenci, whereby the poem of Shelley and the romance of Guerrazzi must be henceforth expunged from the list of literary monuments based on facts and genuine documents.

EDUCATION.

Harrent, Les Ecoles d'Antioche, Essai sur le savior et l'enseignement en Orient au IVe siècle après J. C. par Albert Harrent, Paris, Fontemoing, 8° pp. 288.

In six chapters M. Harrent offers us a picture of the school life of Antioch in the fourth century of the Christian era. We learn about the establishment of schools, their morality and discipline, the share of state and individual, the freedom of competition. Grammar and rhetoric were the chief teaching—only by grammar was understood a complete literary formation on the Greek classics, and by rhetoric a detailed schooling in the almost infinite art of public speaking. Add to this the special studies, such as music (with dancing and gymnastics), arithmetic and algebra, geometry, astronomy and astrology, alchemy, medicine, law, philosophy, and mythology, and we have the widest limits ever reached by the school teaching of the ancient world. Chapters on the influences of the family and the pedagogue, on the masters (rhetoricians, sophists and philosophers) and on the public office of rhetoric and the rhetoricians, in the ancient society, complete the book, whose subject-matter is one of the most instructive that the history of institutions can offer. The writings of Libanius furnish the material for this description of academic life in the Syrian Orient, between the death of Constantine the Great and the death of Theodosius the Great—a century of far-reaching political events, big with transformations of every kind, more or

less hastened by the decay and abandonment of one religion and the substitution for it in state and society of another. M. Harrent is an enthusiastic admirer of the splendid sophist, the teacher of men like Chrysostom and Basil, the apostle of the fine Hellenic sense of order and measure in life, of that sure correct taste which lends to thought and act both dignity and moderation, and begets in the mind of every beholder the consciousness of moral beauty. This moral beauty, say the sophists and the rhetoricians, is enough to still all disorder of the appetites, all rebellion of impulse, all waywardness of nature. The consideration and the pursuit of it alone constitute a sufficient end for education. When this ideal beauty, this flower of harmony and proportion in name, this fair disposition of all his mental and physical parts is attained, man is necessarily happy, because perfect. So the only ill is ignorance, error, lack of experience, and the only good is the right use of reason, whereby all weakness, mental and physical, is fortified, and human nature lifted to the ideal conditions that it thirsts after. H. Harrent is charmed with this picture of old-world academic philosophy, and sees in it the panacea for all the ills and aches of our modern educational systems, however conflicting in scope, aim, principle and method.

Apropos of the contemporary schools of Athens (Hist. Essays, III, p. 80), Cardinal Newman touches on this expedient for law, obedience, imposed duty, this "fine taste, exquisite sense of the decorous, the graceful, and the appropriate, the true guide for ordering our mind and our conduct, and bringing the whole man into shape." These are great sophisms, he remarks, whereby the men of Athens believed that "a fine and delicate taste, a sense of honor, and an elevated, aspiring spirit," in other words, true antique gentlemanliness, could take the place of law and conscience. "If beautifulness was all that was needed to make a thing right, then nothing graceful and pleasant could be wrong; and since there is no abstract idea but admits of being embellished and dressed up and made pleasant and graceful, it follows as a matter of course that anything whatever is permissible. One sees at once, that, taking men as they are, the love of the beautiful would be nothing short of the love of the sensual; nor was the anticipation falsified by

the event; for in Athens genius and voluptuousness ever went hand in hand, and their literature, as it has come down to us, is no sample or measure of their actual mode of living." (Ib. p. 84.)

It is true that men like Chrysostom and Basil and the Gregories visited their schools and learned there to

"mouth grandly the last Greek."

But these scions of great Syro-Roman or Cappadocian families were placed in extraordinary circumstances at a time when public eloquence was a necessary accomplishment, and the usual condition of justice, advancement, or self-protection. They shared with the men of their day that last refuge of Greek patriotism—the pathetic attachment to the literature of Hellas. From this refuge they rightly hoped to bring about the salvation or the restoration of their peculiar cosmopolitan fatherland—that high universal culture, Greek by origin and nature and organ, but everywhere endemic, and like an atmosphere modifying every activity of the human mind.

Such men had Christian mothers, one generation removed from the great martyr-epochs; they were brought up in and sustained by a Christian discipline of life that touched them at all points, and was far from having lost its archaic vigor. They partook of the sense of victorious superiority over ethnicism that every Christian then could express; the sufferings from heresy were often scarcely to be distinguished from the old Gentile persecutions. Thus, the Christian students at Athens or Antioch or elsewhere enjoyed peculiar advantages that nullified what might otherwise have been as fatal to them as to Julian and others, for not all escaped untinged from those centres of unbelief and immorality.

Apart from this view-point, the book of M. Harrent is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the academic life of the ancients, and brings out so many unknown or unconsidered details that it may be looked upon as a positive addition to the recognized literature of the subject.

The Meaning of Education and other Essays and Addresses. Nicholas Murray Butler. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898; pp. xi+230.

This volume brings together seven papers, which, chiefly in the form of addresses, have on various occasions presented the author's opinions concerning education. Four of the addresses deal with the principles of education; the remaining three with the functions, relations and needs of educational institutions. Education, as distinct from mere instruction, means "a gradual adjustment to the spiritual possessions of the race," whereby the child is introduced to his inheritance—scientific, literary, æsthetic, institutional and religious. "The highest and most enduring knowledge is of the things of the spirit. That subtle sense of the beautiful and the sublime which accompanies spiritual insight and is part of it—this is the highest achievement of which humanity is capable."

The scientific study of education, and therefore the preparation of the teacher for his work, must take into consideration the physiological, psychological and sociological aspects of education. The last-named aspect is treated at length under the title "Democracy and Education." The task of education in a country like ours is to develop intelligence and character among the whole people, to prepare them for intelligent citizenship and for a patriotic participation in the interests and government of the community. Such in barest outline is Professor Butler's ideal of education. His work touches on many minor points and conveys numerous suggestions by which every teacher may profit. Practical details as to the adjustment of the college curriculum are given in the papers on the function of the secondary school and the reform of secondary education.

Books Received.

The Month of Our Lady. From the Italian of Dr. Augustine Ferrari, by Rev. John F. Mullany, LL. D.; Benziger Bros., New York, 1898; 8°, pp. 341.

Nochmals der biblische Schoepfungsbericht, von Fr. v. Hummelauer, S. J. (Biblische Studien III. 2.) Herder, Freiburg, 1898; 8°, pp. 132.

Beyond the Grave. From the French of Rev. E. Hamon, S. J., by Anna T. Sadlier; B. Herder, St. Louis, 1898.

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EXERCISES OF GRADUATION.

The graduation exercises took place June 8, at 10 A. M. Besides the officers of the administration and the professors there were present M. Cambon, the Ambassador of France, Herr von Holleben, the Ambassador of Germany, and the Ambassador of the Chinese Empire. Monsignor McMahon, Monsignor Sbarretti, auditor of the Papal Delegation, Very Rev. Dr. Magnien, SS., Director of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, and other distinguished members of the clergy, occupied seats on the platform.

After an address by the Rt. Rev. Rector, Mgr. Conaty, the candidates for degrees were presented by the Deans of their respective faculties. The exercises were closed by a discourse from His Eminence, the Chancellor. After the exercises the audience repaired to the chapel, where the Te Deum was sung and the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given.

Conferring Degrees.

The following degrees were publicly conferred upon the successful candidates.

Bachelors in Theology.

Rev. John Francis Donohue, Diocese of Hartford.

Rev. Victor Francis Ducat, Diocese of Detroit.

Rev. James Bernard Hayden, Diocese of Albany.

Rev. William Joseph Higgins, A. B., Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

Rev. Charles Francis Kavanagh, Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

Rev. Florence Aloysius Lane, A. B., Diocese of Springfield.

Rev. John William McDermott, Diocese of Syracuse.

Rev. Edmund Augustine O'Connor, Diocese of Albany.

Rev. Maurice Joseph O'Connor, A. B., Archdiocese of Boston.

Licentiates in Theology.

Rev. James David O'Neill, Archdiocese of Chicago, Professor of Moral Theology in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. Dissertation: "The Pre-Mosaic Sabbath." *Maxima cum laude.*

Rev. Thomas Francis Burke, C. S. P. Dissertation: "Philosophical Sin." *Maxima cum laude.*

Rev. Bertrand Louis Conway, C. S. P. Dissertation: "The Growth and Nature of Trusts." *Maxima cum laude.*

Rev. Donald James McKinnon, Archdiocese of San Francisco. Dissertation: "The Census of Quirinus." *Maxima cum laude.*

Rev. Jeremiah Francis O'Meara, Diocese of Providence. Dissertation: "The Plenary Infallibility of the Bible." *Maxima cum laude.*

Rev. Martin Francis Reddy, Diocese of Providence. Dissertation: "The Biblical Doctrine of Penance." *Magna cum laude.*

Rev. Paul Patrick Aylward, Archdiocese of Milwaukee. Dissertation: "The Wage-System." *Cum laude.*

Rev. John Brady, Diocese of Los Angeles and Monterey. Dissertation: "The Genuinity of the Gospel of St. Matthew." *Cum laude.*

Rev. John Sylvester Dunn, Diocese of Providence. Dissertation: "The Verbal Inspiration of the Bible." *Cum laude.*

Rev. Andrew Frederick Haberstroh, Archdiocese of Boston. Dissertation: "The Primacy of the Roman See in the Early Fathers." *Cum laude.*

Bachelors of Laws.

Frank Alan Bolton, Litt. B., Newark, Ohio.
John Francis Duane, A. B., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Francis Patrick Guilfoile, A. B., Waterbury, Conn.
Richard Kerens, Jr., A. B., St. Louis, Mo.
John Lawrence Love, A. B., Washington, D. C.
John J. O'Brien, A. B., Wheeling, W. Va.
Owen Wm. Reddy, Attorney-at-Law, Newburyport, Mass.
George Joseph Tuohy, A. B., Norfolk, Va.

Master of Laws.

Charles A. Millener, LL. B., Deseronte, Ont.

Doctor of Civil Law.

William Scott, LL.M., San Antonio, Texas. Dissertation: "Some Survivals of the Roman Law in the Common Law."

Bachelors of Science.

Joseph Gregory Powers, Central Park, L. I.
Francis de Sales Smith, Washington, D. C.
John Peter Murray, Chicago, Ill.

DEPARTMENT OF GREEK LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

Since the publication of the Year-Book, Dr. Bolling has been appointed Associate Professor of Greek Language and Literature and placed in charge of the work of that department.

The primary object of the department of Greek is to train men for investigations in the Greek language and literature. This is done in the belief that the best work as teachers in colleges and other schools can be accomplished only by men who are at the same time independent investigators in the subjects which they teach. A second object that is never to be lost sight of is the needs of students in the School of Philosophy and in the School of Divinity, who require Greek as an instrument for the prosecution of their studies in these departments. The student of the History of Philosophy and of Church History can accomplish the best results, only when he is in a position to handle with independent judgment the original documents upon which his work is based. The object of the work in this department is to give him the knowledge of the Greek language and of the methods of establishing and interpreting a text that are indispensable for this purpose. With a view to meeting the requirements of both these classes of students the following courses are offered:

The centre of work will be the Greek Seminary which will meet once a week for the minute critical study of some author. During the year 1898–'99, the work will be directed towards the study of the Christian Apologists, and especially of

St. Justin Martyr. The work will consist partly of lectures by the Director of the Seminary, and partly of the interpretation of passages and presentation of papers on topics previously assigned to the students by the Director.

The work of the Seminary will be supplemented by a series of lectures on Greek Syntax as a Norm of Style. During the year 1898–'99, the subject treated of will be the use of the cases.

During the first term there will also be conducted a series of practical exercises in the translation of Greek into English and of English into Greek. For these will be substituted, in the second term, two courses of lectures and of readings, one in the Greek Lyric Poets, the other in the Greek Philosophers before Plato.

Gift of Valuable Manuscripts. Through the generosity of Rev. A. M. J. Hynes, the University has received a manuscript of considerable value, being an account of the diplomatic proceedings in the years 1708 and 1709, between the Roman Curia and the courts of Austria and Spain, relative to the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, and the citadel and territory of Comacchio on the Adriatic. Pope Clement XI had been on the side of Louis XIV in the matter of the Spanish successions (1702-1713). The battle of Turin (1706) blasted the hopes of Philip V, the grandson of Louis, and confirmed the claims of the Austrian Archduke Charles to the title of Charles VI of Spain. One result of the Austrian triumph was the resurrection of old imperial claims to the northern territories of the Roman State, and a general rejection of the mediæval titles of the papacy. This valuable manuscript is a contemporaneous quasi-official account of the public events and documents of those two years, as far as they concern these ancient papal fiefs. The compilation is from the pen of the Abbate Antonio Fiocca, a secretary of Cardinal Bichi, and is dedicated to Mgr. Annibale Albani, nephew of the reigning pope, Clement XI. It contains 352 quarto pages, the last three of which are blank. Pages 335–349 contain an index giving the titles of numerous pontifical, imperial and cardinalitial letters. The manuscript is about six by eight inches, is written on paper bearing as watermark the arms of the Albani, contains no indications of former own-

ers, has lost its original binding, and is written in a fine round legible Italian hand, without many abbreviations. Altogether, it is a good specimen of the clerkly work done by the old Calabrian "aiutante di studio," from the town of Catanzaro.

The other manuscript, from the same generous donor, is a commentary on Aristotle's Physics, writen by John Canon (or Canonicus,) an English Franciscan and disciple of Duns Scotus. Canon flourished at Paris and Oxford from 1329 to 1340. In the editio princeps (Padua, 1475) of this work, it is entitled "Quaestiones profundissimé doctoris Johannis Canonici ordinis minoris (um ?) super octo Libris Phisicorum Aristotelis."

The Dictionary of English Biography (VIII, 445) says that in manuscript the commentary is not uncommon, and quotes one of the year 1485. Our copy is from the hand of a certain Joannes de Saxonia, and seems to have been written in the sixth year of the reign of Boniface IX, i. e., in 1394. The last printed edition of this commentary is that of Venice (1516). Canon was a prolific writer, and has left other commentaries on the "Sentences," as well as "Lecturae magistrales" "Questiones disputatae," etc.

Alumni Meeting.—The annual meeting of the Alumni of the University was held May 24. There are now on the rolls one hundred members. After the business meeting, the alumni and the professors of the University partook of a banquet in the refectory of the new dormitory. The officers elected for the ensuing year are: President, Rev. Joseph F. Smith, New York; Secretary, Rev. Charles F. Aiken, Boston; Treasurer, Rev. William A. Fletcher, Baltimore. The meeting next year will be held in New York City.

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

C. J. Murphy, Esq., Brussels, Belgium. Fac-similes of Royal, Historical, Literary and other Autographs in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum. 9 folios.

Bureau of Ethnology. Sixteenth Annual Report.

Rev. A. H. Walburg, Cincinnati, O. German Languages and Literature.

Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings, 1896.

THE UNIVERSITY OF FRIBOURG. A collection of Catalogues, Discourses, Collectanea Friburgensia, and Theses.

G. JOHNSON, Esq., Ottawa. Year-Book of Canada, 1896.

MISS E. ROGERS, Baltimore. Emendations in Aeschylus.

REV. WM. J. KIRBY. Le Socialisme aux Etats-Unis.

THE LICK OBSERVATORY. Observatory Atlas of the Moon· 14 plates.

INSTITUT CATHOLIQUE DE PARIS. A collection of its Bulletin and Year-Books (6 volumes).

G. WIGAND, ESQ., Leipsig. M. Tolstopiatow. Recherches Mineralogiques. Moscow, 1893.

V. REV. THOMAS J. SHAHAN. The Literary Digest, 4 volumes. J. Doogan, Manual of Temperance; Calcutta, 1897. E. Costanzi, Il Razionalismo e la Ragione Storica; Siena, 1896.

MR. EDMUND KEAN, Toledo, O. The Irish World, from 1883 to 1896; The New York Freeman's Journal, from 1883 to 1896.

REV. DENIS CASHMAN, Chicago, Ill. The Lancet, from 1878 to 1896, 18 vols.; The British Medical Journal, from 1878 to 1896, 18 vols.; 8 other volumes on medicine.

P. CUDMORE, ESQ., Faribault, Minn. Five volumes on history, and five framed pictures representing Irish Monarchs.

BEQUEST OF THE LATE REV. D. E. LYMAN, Baltimore, Md. 664 volumes on Theological Sciences.

MINISTÈRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE, Paris. Annales du Bureau Central Metéorologique, 3 vols. Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques, vol. 8. Bulletin du Comité des Travaux historiques et Scientifiques, vol. 1893–'94. Journal des Savants, numbers Juillet, Aout, Septembre et Octobre, 1897.

RT. REV. C. MAES, D.D., Covington, Ky. Short History of the Catechism. Detroit, 1812. S. O. Trudel, Wonderful Discovery in the Book of Job; Philadelphia, 1890. Mgr. T. J. Lamy, Le Monument Chrétien, de Si-Ngan-Fou; Bruxelles, 1897.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. G. Brown Goode, History of the Smithsonian Institution; Washington, 1897.

NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION. National Prison Association Records. 1887–96, 10 vols.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE. Foreign Relations of the United States, 33 volumes. Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861–68, 19 volumes. One large wall map of the United States and Territories, 1897.

KING RICHARDSON, Esq., Springfield, Mass. E. G. Tenney, Our Elder Brother; Springfield, Mass., 1897.

H. S. CARRUTH, ESQ., Boston, Mass. Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, by Kate M. Rowland; New York, 1898.

The

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"Let there be progress, therefore; a widespread and eager progress in every century and epoch, both of individuals and of the general body, of every Christian and of the whole Church; a progress in intelligence, knowledge and wisdom, but always within their natural limits and without sacrifice of the identity of Catholic teaching, feeling and opinion."—ST. VINCENT OF LERINS, *Commonit*, c. 6.

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THE STUDY OF CHURCH HISTORY—I.

I.

It is a truism that history is the oldest and wisest of teachers. Her lessons are based upon universal experience. They are corroborated by a multitude of facts and observations, and whenever the latter have been collected, sifted and disposed by some masterly hand, there is none to gainsay the philosophy that is in them or deny their utility and pertinency. So true is this, that as soon as men emerge from barbarism their first effort is to keep some record of the events that pass around them. In their uncivilized state rude mythological notions, the war-song or battle-cry, the notched club or hatchet, the funeral chant or the hymn of victory—mere passing voices—resumed their knowledge of the past and their concern in it. But with advancing culture the annals come into use, and the simple but continuous chronicle. The records of what men held to be good or evil, of victory and defeat, of disastrous natural phenomena, interest the community henceforth, and as the same or similar events recur, there arises a dim curiosity as to the reasons for them, the connection of cause and effect, the influence of circumstances. As the social and political framework becomes perfect, and grows venerable with age, other questions arise anent the origin of old-time institutions, customs and habits, until there is scarcely a phase of human life that does not engage the attention of mankind. In turn,

all the great political systems into which human energy and ambition have crystallized bear public witness to man's respect for the teachings of history and his instinctive craving to develop positive guidance and instruction from the comparison of the past with itself or with the present. Egypt, Assyria, India, Persia, Greece and Rome, have left us in written histories the highest flowering of their genius. There was never a great nation of antiquity that did not recognize among the sources of its power and the pledges of its duration the study of its origin and of the vicissitudes of its social and political life. Some have even carried it to exaggeration. Thus China with its ancestry-worship and its marvellous ancient chronicles. Nevertheless, it remains true that the highest exponents of social humanity have ever recognized the potent pedagogic influence of the study of the past.

The study of history furnishes the facts for that useful comparison of the present with the past that is the usual source of popular satisfaction or discontent. It develops the faculty of reflection, and is a kind of easy homely philosophy within every man's reach. It unrolls the world-old and world-wide panorama of virtue and vice, of strength and weakness, of mighty ambitions and secular injustice. It unveils the vast network of causes that determine the rise of some nations and polities, and the decay or downfall of others. "History is a divine epic," says Frederick von Schlegel, "and the historian a backward-looking prophet."

> "Here, peradventure in this mirror glassed,
> Who gazes long and well, at times beholds
> Some sunken feature of the mummied Past,
> But often only the embroidered folds
> And soiled magnificence of her rent robe,
> Whose tattered skirts are ruined dynasties
> That sweep the dust of aeons in our eyes,
> And with their trailing pride cumber the globe."

It exhibits to each the gradual formation of his country—that ideal unit of political aggregation. It is the very milk of patriotism. Above all it shows us an over-shadowing Providence, which everywhere draws good from evil, or makes evil the bridge, the stepping-stone to good; which acts with a larger patience and surer knowledge than any poor generation of men can possess; which never fails to justify the righteous

cause, and to brand with infamy all the monster iniquities that for a time walk shameless and triumphant upon earth.

II.

Sainte-Beuve says truly, that "peoples need history almost as much as they need religion." Indeed, religion has always embraced the history of the peoples it undertakes to enlighten and console. Because of this intimate relationship between religion and history, the knowledge of the past was always regarded in antiquity as a peculiar apanage of the priest. In ancient Egypt the hoary chronicles of the Pharaohs were in the keeping of the priests. In rude republican[1] Rome the priests were at once the chronologists and annalists. They drove in the temple wall the nail that marked the passing of the year, and they set up yearly on a whitened block of oak the simple annals of Rome's infancy, the overflow of Tiber, the angers of the gods, the success or failure of the crops, the invasions, the successful border raids, whatever minute matters could interest the urban or the rustic tribes.

Religion and history have always been closely united, almost as the soul and the body, for history in general represents the human social framework of things, and religion imports a special Divine Presence that has always permeated human society, and always will permeate it in a lesser or a greater degree, whether it grovels among the Digger Indians or thrones aloft in the pure serene atmosphere of old Hellas.

It is remarkable that all the relics of religious truth, all the useful social and political life-germs found among the peoples of antiquity were also preserved, but in a higher degree, among the Jews, as though God would make a great Ark of that chosen people, in which necessary divine and human truths might cross the ocean of time from the corrupt, decaying Old World of hopeless spiritual bondage to the New World which Jesus Christ threw open to the eyes of the soul and to its illimitable holy ambitions—an idea that Prudentius has consecrated in his Cathemerinon:

[1] Pontifices, penes quos scribendae historiae potestas fuit. Vopiscus in vita Taciti, I. 1. Among the earliest efforts at Roman literature are counted the *fasti*, the *annales*, the *libri pontificii*, an interesting reminiscence when we recall the fact that the episcopal histories of early Middle Ages were written in imitation of the "Liber Pontificalis" of the popes.

"Darkness, begone! and clouds and mists of night!
The sun ariseth! brightness fills the sky!
Confused, disturbing forms before him fly;
So, in the world's sad gloom and dreary plight,
Christ comes, and all is Light."

I need not recall the rôle of history in the Old Testament. Most of the books are histories or historical. Nearly all are concerned with Jewish life, and are in themselves vivid canvases of that most wonderful of national polities and lives. In these holy books history is saturated with religion, history is the trumpet voice of religion, is the channel of religious thought; even the inspired utterances of the prophet are often dressed in the garb of history.

It has been well said that these sons of Israel are our spiritual ancestors, since their imagery, their poetry, their very names have descended to us, since their hopes, their prayers, and their psalms are ours. In an eloquent paragraph, Dean Stanley has touched upon the permanent value of the wonderful events that once took place on the hills or in the valleys of Palestine and Syria.[1]

III.

It is no wonder then that in the religion of Christ,—itself no new religion, as the earliest Fathers remind us, but the original celestial gift, perfection and fulfillment of the institutions and the promises of the past,—history should, from the beginning, have played a very prominent part.

It has a four-square corner stone, the Gospels, on which are written four little histories, as though to blow to all quarters of the world the deeds and doctrines of Christ Jesus. Scarcely had its first adherents combined in the rudest kind of gatherings, when they began to keep their little archives, at Corinth,

[1] "Let us not fear lest our reverence should be diminished by finding those sacred names and high inspirations under the garb of Bedouin chiefs and Egyptian slaves, and Oriental kings and Syrian patriots. The contrast of the ancient inward spirit with the present degraded condition of the same outward forms is the best indication of the source whence that spirit came. Let us not fear lest we should, by the surpassing interest of the story of the elder Church, be tempted to forget the end to which it leads us. The more we study Jewish history, the more we shall feel that it is but the prelude to a vaster and loftier history, without which it would be itself unmeaning. The voice of the old dispensation is pitched in too loud a key for the ears of one small people. The place of the Jewish people is too straight for the abode of thoughts, which want a wider room in which to dwell. The drama, as it rolls on through its successive stages, is too majestic to end in anything short of a divine catastrophe." "The Province of Ecclesiastical History," p. 22.

at Antioch, at Rome, at Jerusalem. The authentic correspondence of the Apostles and their immediate disciples was long preserved and read in the primitive churches. Mementoes or monuments of the Apostolic times were also kept as in a museum. Within a century of the deaths of Peter and Paul, Hegesippus had drawn up a little manual of Church history, his principal documents being the episcopal catalogues of the original Apostolic sees, and notably that of the bishops of Rome. (Euseb. H. E. IV. 22.) Before him, Papias of Hierapolis had written his reminiscences of Gospel interpretation. Both before and after, nameless authors had written of the missions and the wanderings of the Apostles. Heretics had even then poisoned the fountains of historical truth with false narratives of the origins of Christianity, and the Church was already obliged to put in motion her winnowing fan to sift the true from the false.[1]

In the mutual reports of the bishops to one another and to the synods, in the incessant travel of highly educated Christians like St. Justin and Clement of Alexandria; in the careful keeping of archives, in the preservation of the Acts of the Martyrs, of records of baptism, deaths, marriages, funerals; in the accounts of heresies and schisms and persecutions, the spirit of history was fostered in the Church and its materials secured.

Scarcely had Hegesippus passed away when Julius Africanus and Hippolytus arose, one to give us a chronological record of Christian vicissitudes, the other to continue the annals of Hegesippus or some similar early writer. Since then the annals of the Church have never wanted a compiler until the crowning work of Baronius appeared. There have been periods in the Church when theology, philosophy, the classics and literary culture in general, have been at a low ebb, but never one when the hand of the historian was palsied.

[1] At a later date men regretted the loss of accurate Church traditions concerning the persons and missions of the Apostles. "Oh, that we might meet with a man who could give us the history of the Apostles! Not a history, however, containing only what they wrote and spoke, but one portraying for us the whole tenor of their lives, what and where they ate, when they remained at home, when they went forth into the world, what they did every day, what places they visited, what houses they frequented, what journeys they undertook by sea and land, and all narrated with the greatest exactness, for every detail is of the greatest utility to us." St. John Chrysostom. In Ep. ad Philemonem.

The unbroken record of Catholic action must be kept up, and so from Eusebius to the triad of Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, through the abbreviators and translators of the fifth and sixth centuries, and from them to Bede and Isidore and the rude barbarian annalists of Germany and France, the good work went on. In turn they handed it over to the polished court of Charlemagne and the Irish teachers of Central Europe, and they in turn to the debased and uncultured chroniclers of the tenth century, that lowest ebb of ecclesiastical studies. But with the ecclesiastical renaissance of Gregory VII there came a sense of freedom, a feeling in the ecclesiastical body that a true Egyptian bondage had been broken. At once history became a power in the Church. There appeared during two centuries such chroniclers as Lambert of Hirschfeld, Otto of Freisingen, Sigebert of Gembloux, Odericus Vitalis, John of Salisbury, and others. The splendid monastic chronicles of the high Middle Ages, great and masterly books though little known, were written then. Increasing culture, larger political experience, the Crusades and Oriental travel, the classical revival and the discovery of the New World, gave fresh impetus to this oldest and most venerable of the ecclesiastical sciences. It grew in volume and grasp and method until it blossomed forth into the magnificent proportions it assumed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

IV.

What is the subject-matter of Church history? The history of religion, indeed, might have been a very simple one, if it had not been that in our first parents the happy and easy covenant of God and man was broken. Since then man has had no more painful problem than how to focus again the scattered rays of religion that once shone like a sun in His spiritual firmament. In this process there are three well-defined stadia: Heathenism, Judaism, and Christianity. In Heathenism the divine rays of religion were very few, and overlaid with earthy influences, ever growing, and ever darkening the eye of the soul against its Maker. In Judaism God set aside a people with a special revelation for their belief and conduct. Among them, therefore, the light of religion

shone strong and invigorating. Nevertheless they were only a preparation for His sublimer later mercies, the revelation of Himself, the Sun of Truth, in the Person of the Eternal Word.

The last of these three stages, the Christian Church, is usually known as the Kingdom of God, because its Founder and invisible Regent is divine, its members are children of God, and its authority and teachings are of divine origin. It is called, too, the Kingdom of Heaven, because in its doctrines and ideals it is a miniature of the celestial life, because it has the unbroken presence of the King of Heaven, is in perpetual communication with the heavenly abode, and has for its last end complete absorption in the world of pure spirits.

The history of the Church is therefore the history of the Kingdom of God on earth from the creation of man down to the present time. It includes in a larger sense all the vicissitudes of religion from the creation to our time, a view of the history of Christianity that is common to all great ecclesiastical writers from the days of Eusebius down.[1] The especial object of Church history, however, is the development and vicissitudes of the society founded by Jesus Christ, to perpetuate His mission as the Redeemer of mankind.

In detail, therefore, the history of the Church, as we have seen, includes her missionary work, the obstacles to it within and without, her constitution, administration, discipline, doctrine and art; the public life and morality of her children; the forms and conditions of her worship; the writing and preaching of her bishops and priests—in a word, every phase of her activity.

It includes a very great share of profane history, for the Church is in the world as the soul is in the body,[2] and while she affects greatly the moral, social, political, and intellectual

[1] "But although it is clear that we are new, and that this new name of Christians has really but recently been known among all nations, nevertheless, our life and our conduct, with our doctrines of religion, have not been lately invented by us, but from the first creation of man, so to speak, have been established by the natural understanding of divinely favored men of old." Eusebius, H. E. IV. 4.

[2] "Christians are to the world what the soul is to the body. The soul is dispersed through all the limbs of the body; so the Christians are dispersed through all the cities of the world. The soul dwells within the body, yet it is not part thereof; so the Christians dwell in the world, and yet they are no part of it. The soul is invisible, yet is guarded within a visible body; so the Christians are visible in the world, yet their worship is a thing invisible . . . . . The

conditions of men, she is in turn affected by them. This may be seen at a glance by comparing the Church of Gaul under the Roman and under the Frank, the Church of England under the Saxon and under the Norman, the Church of Italy under Byzantine and under Teutonic influences, the Church of America before the Revolution and since.

It is only man who has a history. Nature undergoes, indeed, many changes, but they are fixed repetitions, according to unchanging laws. The stars roll on in their courses, and the bee makes his golden cell, just as it was done from the beginning. But with mankind it is otherwise. The free-will of man is a fountain of infinite change, and his restless all-questioning spirit is an inexhaustible mine of ideas, impulses, plans and hopes, that cross and recross one another in bewildering confusion. The object of history, in as far as it is a useful science, is to preserve out of all this mass of happenings what is worthy of note for our instruction. Not everything is a fit object of history,—only that which instructs, elevates, ennobles. It is true that much which to one age or one period of culture appears trivial, becomes of the greatest importance to another,—archæology and folk-lore, once despised, have to-day become very dignified members of the historical world. Now the happenings, the events of human interest may be of such a nature as to affect the whole race, its habits, its surroundings, its government and the like, or they may affect only a part: a family, a community, a province, a state, a continent. Hence the subject-matter of Church history is affected by the point of view, universal or particular, taken by the student. While the whole is never well known unless the parts are clearly understood, and while the reverse is equally true, it is evident that one who would be well grounded in the history of his race must do some judicious mixing of his readings, and not neglect either of these great general divisions. Indeed, it would be well if every ecclesiastic read once in his student life, preferably at the beginning, some general history

soul is immortal, and yet dwells in a mortal tabernacle; so, too, Christians sojourn among things corruptible, waiting for the incorruption of heaven. The soul is made better by being stinted in the matter of meat and drink; so Christians increase more and more by being daily punished. God has assigned them a certain place to fill, and it is not lawful for them to refuse to fill it." Epistola ad Diognetum (circa A. D. 140.) c. vi.

of mankind. Just so a traveler climbs a high peak to get a broad and comprehensive view of the land he means to explore,—the principal land marks, the roads, and the obstacles.

Precisely to limit the subject-matter of Church history is not easy. The influences of the Church vary in extent and intensity; circumstances of a political or social character widen or narrow her field of action; the temperaments of peoples and the preoccupations of epochs, moral degradation, suspicion and prejudice, mental and material transformations of the world of humankind,—a multitude of considerations affect her action within and without. In the person of an Innocent the Third she might usurp the poet's word—

"Nihil humani a me alienum puto."

And again, she might find herself relegated to the narrowest margin of action and influence, the divine ichor in her veins barely flowing, an outlaw in the eyes of societies that she had created and made great. Then, too, her action is not always visible, measurable at first glance, so deep and wide wander the roots of spiritual forces, so subtle and unseizable are the impulses of the Holy Spirit.

V.

The principal advantage of Church history to the general student is a philosophic one. It is the Church, the undying mission of Jesus to suffering humanity, which gives us the true philosophy of history, the key to the labyrinth, the vantage-ground from which we may survey the battle-field of good and evil. The problem of the existence, nature, and source of evil underlies all philosophy and all religion. Πόθεν κάκον, *Unde malum?* was the title of several little Christian tracts in the second and third centuries. The enormous overflow of suffering had shaken human belief in the divine. Tacitus, the foremost of ancient historians, had come to the conclusion that the gods took an impish delight in human misery, that the sight was as comforting to them as the steam that arose from the sacrificial altars. Since then others, like Hegel, dream of a reign of absolute reason, a perpetual progress of mankind

through almost endless vicissitudes. Others again, like Buckle, see in the course of human events only the blindly exact mechanism of law, as necessary and as implacable as the flow of the tides or the motion of the planets.

But the Christian beholds the whole world as the work of God, whose merciful designs were frustrated from the beginning by man's free will, but who began in that very moment the restoration of the fallen race. We see from the very beginning the Word of God active for man. In His image had man been made, and in that image must he be restored, says St. Athanasius in that marvellous little treatise of his on the Incarnation. While error and pride, ignorance and sin, crass materialism and despotism, were evermore destroying human dignity and liberty, the Word was ever busy among men, illuminating, guiding, suggesting, strengthening. The mighty fires of His divinity shone as it were through a veil. The Fathers often speak of these manifestations as the λόγος σπερματικός, the scattering of the rays of His blessed light. Job, Pythagoras, Socrates, and, as St. Justin says, all who have died for the sake of truth or justice, were illuminated, however dimly, by the light of Christ.[1] Thus we see flowing from the roots of the Tree of Life a double stream,—the black flood of sin, and the small crystal brooklet of divine grace that waters the little green oases of human hearts in different lands and different ages, but especially in the persons and actions of the Old Testament.

In this manner was the ground prepared for the New Temple not built of hands, and when Heathenism and Judaism had run their day, Jesus Christ laid the corner-stone of that Temple whose coursers and stringers are human souls, and whose cement is divine grace. This Temple is the mystic body of Christ, and when it shall be completed then the end is nigh, as the Shepherd of Hermas tells us in a charming vision vouchsafed to him by the Tiber over eighteen hundred years ago.[2]

I might say much more of the utility of Church history,—

[1] "And those who lived with the Word (according to reason, the law of nature) are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists; as among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus, and men like them; and among the barbarians Abraham and Ananias and Azarias and Misael and Elias, and many others." St. Justin, Apol I. c. 46.

[2] Cf. Pastor Hermae, Sim. IX. c. 13. (Funk, I. 224.)

how it refines the spirit of the priest, and makes him largely tolerant and patient, by unfolding to him the incredible extent of human weakness and the mystery of God's triumph over it; how it is eminently suggestive of plans and schemes for actual good; how it breaks the awful impact of scandal by showing that evils come about through neglect of law, obedience, charity or patience; how it consoles by the examples of saints of every condition, and instructs by the writings of holy churchmen, and delights by the growth of all the arts under the influence of the Christian spirit. Its influence on the theologian is great, as a man, a Christian, a student, a priest. As a man, he learns from it that the Church he serves has ever been the friend and uplifter of humanity, and has stood as a wall of brass against oppression and injustice; that slavery and barbarism have withered before its tread, and that Cæsaropapism and blighting Islam have been warded off by it alone from our Western society. As a Christian, he learns a broader, more discriminating charity from the sight of so much human weakness, so much discrepancy between graces and deeds, office and conduct, the "fair outside and foul within." He learns the almost irresistible power of circumstances, early training, climate, topography, prejudices, inherited trend of thought and character. As a student his judgment may be trained to a quasi-mathematical precision by acute observation, his mental vision may be so sharpened by practice as to discover shadows and outline, and motion and life, in what seems deep night to ordinary men—

"the dark backward and abysm of time."

He may mete out, with incredible nicety, the human and the accidental in ecclesiastical affairs: the malice and the intention, the ignorance, the stupidity, and the great undefinable margin of causality that no one can fairly name or describe, since its workings are hidden with God. As a priest and leader of the people, it multiplies and deepens his sympathies, brings him out of the abstract and theoretic into touch with the iron realities of life, and accustoms him to see the shaping hand of God, like the weaver behind his loom, creating fairest patterns, though the ordinary looker-on observes nothing but din and disorder.

"To open the mind, to correct it, to refine it, to enable it to know, and to digest, master, rule, and use its knowledge, to give it power over its own faculties, application, flexibility, method, critical exactness, sagacity, resource, address, eloquent expressions,"[1] has ever been counted the specific purpose of any liberal teaching. None of the ecclesiastical sciences is better fitted than the history of the Church to exercise such a direction on the mind of the student. The course of events, "old in its texture, but ever new in its coloring and fashion," is like a genial old pedagogue, with mind well stored and heart ever young and unspoiled, under whose mild and beaming eye the hearts of his pupils are as wax. If the object of knowledge on the part of the priest be, with St. Bernard, "to edify and to be edified," then there is none better suited to the churchman than the history of the society to which he belongs.[2]

This is indeed the age of history, as Augustine Thierry has remarked. It is the special intellectual gift of the nineteenth century, and all things correspond to make its influence irresistible.[3] What a change is taking place before our very eyes. The boundaries of actual peoples and kingdoms and empires are shifting with kaleidoscopic rapidity. Whole peoples pass from one set of influences, from one form of political control and management to influences and control that are based on absolutely divergent principles. For the past, the votaries of history ransack all archives, exhaust all libraries, turn up feverishly whole provinces, piece together with the most admirable accuracy and patience the scattered tales of dead ages. The religions of the entire world, the sacred books of all religions, the origins of every religious dissension, are sifted with a new acumen and perfected instruments of judgment, comparison and control.

So deep is the devotion to historical method, so vast the resources placed at the disposal of this science, so tremendous

[1] Cardinal Newman. Idea of a University, V, p. 122.

[2] Sunt qui scire volunt eo tantum fine ut sciant, et turpis curiositas est; et sunt qui scire volunt ut sciantur ipsi, et turpis vanitas est; et sunt item qui scire volunt ut scientiam suam vendant, verbi causa, pro pecuniis pro honoribus, et turpis quaestus est. Sed sunt qui scire volunt ut edificent, et charitas est, et item sunt qui scire volunt ut edificentur, et prudentia est. Sermo 38, super Cantic.

[3] L'étude de l'histoire, surtout dans ces profondeurs qui sont à la fois si obscures et si directement rattachées à notre berceau exerce sur tout esprit délicat une séduction intime et pleine de douceur. Montalembert, Moines d'Occident. Introd. p. VI.

are the responsibilities borne by its professors that history has in a certain sense become a religion unto itself, as though the relations of God and man, the manifold mystery of human life, might be systematized on the basis of a backward vision embracing in its mighty sweep all happenings, with concomitance of circumstances, causes and motives, as well as obstacle and furtherance. Surely it is not an age when we can be content with the outlines, the mere heads of theses, the titles of chapters. More is needed if we would do our duty by the peoples committed to our care, and who may not ask us always the questions of which their hearts are full. "Parvuli petierunt panem et non erat qui frangeret eis." Christianity is not only the most rational of religions, one that rouses and urges the human mind incessantly, by virtue of its deep fresh currents of love and faith and idealism. It is also the most historical of religions. Not the least charm it exercised over the Wandering Nations in the fifth and sixth centuries was the unity and logic which it brought into their views of the world and man and life by means of the Old Testament histories, and the magnificent commentary on them that was furnished by the first four Christian centuries.[1]

The most sublime event of the world's history is the foundation of that Church, by which a new and supernatural factor entered into the world's life, and new principles of thought and conduct supplanted forever the old *Weltanschauung*. It was as another flood, after which the individual, the family, the state, human society found themselves in absolutely new conditions. In the place of error came truth, in the place of idolatry adoration in spirit and truth, in the place of heathen folly and corruption with its pollution of human worth and degradation of the family and extinction of personal liberty, there came Christianity proclaiming the freedom of the children of God, the supernatural dignity and end of man, the equal dig-

[1] A curious proof of this is the sarcastic argument of St. Cummian of Durrow (634) in his letter to Seginé, Abbot of Iona, on the determination of the South Irish bishops to adopt the Roman Easter: "Roma errat; Hierosolyma errat; Alexandria errat; Antiochia errat; soli tantum Scoti et Britones rectum sapiunt!" Migne, PL. LXXXVII, c. 969. Cf. Bede, H. E. I. c. 1.

nity of woman and children and slaves; in place of darkness there came the reign of light and life and grace and truth.[1]

Moreover, when we behold the Church coming forth unstained and triumphant from a thousand dangers our faith is strengthened and we recognize with St. Augustine a perpetual miracle greater than the resurrection of the dead. Then, too, when we see scandals and corruption, and worldly ambition and intrigue; when we see bad means used to further good ends, and the very good themselves sunk below their own level; when we behold "the Captive Good attending Captain Ill" we do not lose heart nor turn cynics. We know that scandals must come, that the root of free will is in man, that his very excesses prove it, that the gifts of the Father did not prevent Adam from falling, nor the Divine Presence of the Son forestall the freedom of Judas and Peter. For want of this knowledge such historians as Arnold and Spittler have turned the history of the Church into a kind of "Memoirs of Bedlam" or a Chronique Scandaleuse.

VI.

The science of Church history is of comparatively modern growth. No doubt, Eusebius and Socrates and Sozomen and Theodoret have narrated the many events of the first five centuries. No doubt the germs of this science lie embedded in the pages of the great Eusebius. The ancient annalists and chroniclers of the early Middle Ages, like Jordanes, the venerable Bede, Paul the Deacon, and others; the more skilful historians of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, like Lambert of Hirschfeld, Tierney of Cluanmicnois, Matthew of Paris, Roger of Hoveden, the great Benedictine chroniclers and the Dominican historians, the shrewd and observant narrators of the fifteenth century, like Poggio, Aeneas Sylvius (Pius II) and Platina, have collected a priceless mass of facts, dates, appreciations and the like. But nearly all these works are of

[1] "Ought we not to gain some insight (from the study of history) into that mass of evidence at once for the truth and power of Christ which was necessarily known to the first believers; to learn what Christendom, after all deductions, can do in the way of witnessing for Christ; how promises have been largely, though not as yet completely, fulfilled; how virtues neglected by Heathenism have got their rights, and vices long tolerated have been branded with due shame; how the type of character exhibited in the Gospels has been the permanent moral enrichment of humanity; what a stimulus to practical faith is to be found in the lives of eminent Christians, ancient, mediæval, modern; how the significance of doctrine has thus become more apparent, and the 'credo' been felt to be more 'worth living for and dying for?'" Bright, On the Study of Church History (Waymarks), London, 1894, p. 17.

local or particular interest, and cover but a short period of time, refer usually only to the great political events and their surface causes, are sometimes written from a narrow point of view by passionate participators in the strife.

Moreover the Church was yet dominant in all the lands of culture, the mighty web of civilization was still being spun upon the ancient framework of society, such as the Church itself had raised it out of the splendid ruins of the Graeco-Roman world. Therefore men did not stop to seek causes, compare ages, classify facts. Everything was quite natural, it seemed to them. Since Constantine the Church and State had gone hand in hand, the orthodox cause had never failed to triumph, the Church was ever widening her drag-nets. No one disputed her divine origin or office. The work before churchmen was chiefly of a moral or administrative character. Literature, art, the science of government, all the traditions of society were everywhere centered about the bishop, the abbot, the parish priest. Wherever men looked they saw the beneficent figure of the Ecclesia, in whose shadow all life was glad and hopeful and flourishing. There was no criticism of her titles to respect, obedience, and love, any more than the child criticises the mother's authority and right. It was the period of tutelage, a real Juventus Mundi.

But there came a rude awakening. After twelve centuries of unity and concord, the Church was torn by the most frightful of dissensions. The superb system of her theology was assailed by thousands of writers. Her history was flung open and made a source of endless mockery. Her deeds, institutions, even her intentions and her spirit, were cruelly travestied in the first wild rush of spiritual rebellion. An exaltation of anger, like that of the French Revolution, seized on whole nations, and men no longer saw what had been, but only the figments of their own passion. In the twinkling of an eye these nations fell away from her obedience. The old-time union of Church and State was profoundly shaken, and in its place arose a gilded slavery of the Church. The imperial unity and authority, long a mere myth, were destroyed. The independent nations of modern times began their course, dragging at their chariot wheels the great and ancient churches

of their territories. After a century of revolution the Church found herself on new ground, and her history since that time has been one of skilful, if slow, adaptation to the profound changes worked in the innermost nature of society and government.

The science of Church history was now possible. On the one hand the great triumphant epoch of the Middle Ages was closed, and the Church was going down again into the arena of the world, to undergo a second persecution, both sanguinary and literary, for a second period of three hundred years. Churchmen were obliged to look back and compare, examine, deduce principles from the multitude of facts, co-ordinate those principles, draw conclusions. The great revolution of the sixteenth century compelled the defenders of the Church to go over item by item every one of her ancient titles, and to justify them as it were before the bar of public opinion,—to rehabilitate legally a caluminated character.[1]

The Reformation forced Catholic writers to study the past more profoundly. Theological discussion raged fiercely on every point, and scarcely a single institution of Church history was left unassailed. From the very beginning, by a fatal necessity, the discussions were carried into the province of history. The traditional principle was yet strong in Europe.

The Protestants were not slow in formulating their views of Church history. In the ancient city of Magdeburg a number of their writers compiled (1559–1574) a history of the Church according to centuries,—hence called the "Centuriatores."[2] In each century they discussed the doctrine, discipline and institutions of the Church. It was the first formal effort at Church history as we understand it to-day. The work was an unscrupulous, malicious one, written with the "knife" of Matthias Flaccus. It did great harm for several years. But the providence of God always raises up the right man in the right time. At Rome, St. Philip Neri selected from the members of his little congregation a priest named Cæsar Baronius, and

[1]It is to the pressing literary needs created by the Reformation that we owe the work of the Bollandists and the Benedictines, the corrections of the Breviary and the Martyrology, the canonical labors of the Correctores Romani, and notably of Antonio Agostino.

[2]Ecclesiastica Historia integram ecclesiae ideam complectens, congesta per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Magdeburgica. Basileae, 1559-1574.

bade him teach Church history to the people in the new church of Santa Maria. Seven times this great man taught the Roman people from the pulpit the whole history of the Church. He knew that every age has its own needs and that it was no longer the time to discuss metaphysics or scholastic theology. In due time his copious discourses, his notes, and the multitude of documents extracted from the Vatican and other Roman archives took shape and were published as "Annals of Church History."[1]

In this book was born the science of Church history. It is not free from faults, like any human production, but for the first time the world saw a faithful picture of the Catholic Church, such as she was from the birth of Christ down to the twelfth century, for Baronius himself got no further than 1198. For fulness of materials and simplicity of exposition, broad, judicious and luminous divisions, critical and impartial spirit,[2] multitude of new documents, high and honest devotion to the cause of the Church, it was unequalled. In that first essay of scientific Church history there were many weak points no doubt. Who will blame the pioneer if he leaves many a tree and rock as he clears away the primeval forest for the first time? Who will blame the great chemists and electric cians if they erred often in their laborious studies? Horace

[1] Annales Ecclesiastici a Christo nato usque ad annum 1198, 12 vols. fol. 1588-1604. The best edition is that of Mansi, Lucca, 1738-5, in 38 vols. fol. It has been reprinted at Bar-le-Duc since 1864. Baronius copied this vast work three times with his own hand. One of these autograph copies is preserved in the Vatican. "I have trodden the wine-press alone," was his sad reply to a bishop who asked him how many secretaries he employed.

[2] Who could write more frankly than Baronius concerning the Roman Church in the tenth century: "Dum . . . ipsa Romana Ecclesia casura et interitura penitus videri potuisset, tot improbis, sceleratis, impudicis, praedonibus invasoribus, sanguinariis et grassatoribus hoc saeculo Sedem Apostolicam invadentibus eamque depravatis moribus conspurcantibus . . . Sede Petri sic reddita jam prorsus vili et contemptibili, effecta ancilla regina Gentium, et conculcata pedibus filiorum, et praesidentium attrita vestigiis, expositaque ludibrio transeuntium." Ann. Ecc. ad an. 1000. n. 21.

Baronius, we now know, was even unjust to the tenth century. A great Protestant historian, Giesebrecht, has treated much more favorably the "saeculum aeneum." In his "Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit" (I, p. 773) he says: "It is easy to show in what senses this epoch was poor and needy. Not only our modern world, but several mediæval centuries have surpassed it in the richness of social developments, and in the strength and depth of their social culture. Nevertheless, it was full of power and hope. Countless tiny fountains of life are everywhere bubbling up from its soil, and it is with regret that we turn our eyes away from them. The period does not resemble the autumn with its fruits, nor the spring with its leafy crown, nor the summer tricked out in all its bloom. It is rather like those days when the seed begins to sprout and the woods show to the distant traveller their yet bare branches, but to the near onlooker expose a thousand swelling buds that need only the warm glance of the sun to blossom out into form and color."

says he must have been armed with quadruple brass who first dared venture on the treacherous floor of ocean. And we must not withhold our praise for the great Oratorian who first established the science of Church history, and set the example himself. Since then this study has been marvellously perfected.[1] The relics and fragments of the Apostolic period, the annals of the Middle Ages, the letters of the popes, the councils and synods, the liturgies, customs, inscriptions, monuments, the remnants of Christian art, the epitaphs of the early Christians, the biographies of famous Christians, the rules of monastic orders, the details of primitive evangelization, of the relations of Church and State in all the great politico-ecclesiastico struggles, the monuments of Christian literature,—all these, and much more, have been collected, edited and re-edited with the greatest precision.

Moreover, the subsidiary sciences of Church history have greatly developed. Thus, palæography, epigraphy, chronology, ecclesiastical geography, numismatics, heraldry, have each reached the dignity of an independent science. It is true to say that since the days of Baronius no science has had so many and laborious devotees; no science has so impassioned men of all countries and degrees of culture, has produced such a multitude of valuable collections and general works, as the science of Church history. For the most part these works have issued from the pens of modest and humble toilers. There is scarcely a fact, a date, a minute detail of the early Christian life which has not been collected into its proper place, and discussed with becoming earnestness. No entomologist ever looked more painfully for strange insects, no astronomer ever sought more wistfully for new stars, no geologist ever turned up the peaceful earth with more eagerness than the later ecclesiastical historians have roamed over the vast fields of human events during the last eighteen hundred years.

[1] The numerous chronological errors of Baronius gave occasion for the "Critica historico-chronologica" of Antonio Pagi (1689) and his nephew, Francesco Pagi, (1705-1727). Raynald continued the Annals from 1198 to 1565, Laderchi from 1566 to 1571, and in our time Anton Theiner from 1572 to 1583. Other attempts at a continuation, but of minor value, are those of Bzovius (1198-1565), and Spondanus (1198-1640). Indispensable, as far as it goes, is the work of Gerhard Rauschen, Jahrbuecher der Christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen (378-395), Herder, Freiburg, 1897, a critical survey, with logical rearrangement, of this section of the Annals from the standpoint of new materials and modern criticism.

VII.

The writers of Church history have become convinced that it is absolutely necessary to have an accurate knowledge of the corresponding periods of civil history, of the climate, geography, and mental culture of different lands, of the social and economic conditions of each period. If the great facts of Church history are the warp, these are the woof of the mighty web. The acts of churchmen are human acts, and human acts are the result of many determining motives; we must strike the balance of them all if we would be just to individuals, parties, or epochs. Time and space, to begin with, are general determining conditions of all human action, utterly inconceivable outside of their mighty cycles. The working of political institutions can never be quite indifferent to the Catholic Church, since her action is commensurate with time and the earth, and is destined to affect mankind while he dwells on this footstool of God. Here everything is of importance, to the general, if not to the local or partial writer of history. To thoroughly grasp the rapidity of the spread of Christianity, the formation of its episcopate, the peculiarities of the persecutions, one must understand the unique character of the civil government of Rome, vast and even, easy and tolerant in non-essentials, based on the municipal idea—the common weal—symbolized in the imperial genius. The student of mediæval Church history risks the loss of his time if he has not first mastered the spirit and details of feudalism, within which all-embracing condition the mediæval life grew and flourished. The function of land-ownership, the vivid sense of personal loyalty to the immediate chief, the weakness of commerce and industry, the mystic idealism of rich and ardent but undeveloped natures just rising to a higher and broader plane of life, the absence of great cities and consequent free movement and intercourse, the collapse of the continuity of civil government, with all that such a break means,—all this, and much more, is needed by the Church historian for an adequate criticism of those ages that stretch from Gregory the Great to the Fall of New Rome (604–1453). How the ecclesiastical conditions vary in the great Italian trading republics like Venice or Flor-

ence, and in the semi-pastoral, warlike clan-world of mediæval Ireland and Scotland! In the first the Church dwelt in the high and splendid seats of earth, among its merchants and bankers and wealthy carriers; in the second she labored among isolated peoples, proud of unbroken ancestry, loyal to domestic traditions, and suspicious of all continental interference. Indeed, to understand the importance of civil history, we need only to look on our own Church to understand that it cannot hope to go uninfluenced by such things as a widespread and successful democracy that has passed the stage of experiment, by applied science that reaches the minutest details of domestic and social life, by the general personal independence that arises from the universal recognition of personal worth and right as the corner-stone of society, by the sharp and free criticism of all bureaucracy in which is betrayed, however remotely, the fear of a re-enslavement under outlived inferior conditions.[1]

Apropos of the above, we cannot pass over the influence of climate and topography on the history of the Church. They are the immediate conditions of space, and affect notably the tempers and dispositions of races and epochs. Energy or indolence, passive receptivity or manifold "pushfulness," are the results of climate, whose changes again are often the work of man himself. "We are like a race of little but daring giants," says Herder, "who descend from the hill tops to valley and plain, and lay our yoke on the whole earth, and with our weak hands compel even the atmosphere to obey."[2] Forest and river, field and mine, mountain-pass and lakeland, sea and harbor, are elements that can never be utterly left out of consideration among the secondary causes of human events. The rude shepherds who built Roma Quadrata were wise men in their day, for here the Tiber begins to be navigable; here they could gather the wine, corn, oil, and timber from the valleys of the Chiana, the Nar, and the Anio, that

[1] History will not stay written. Every age demands a history written from its own standpoint,—with reference to its own social conditions, its thought, its beliefs, and its acquisitions, and therefore comprehensible to the men who live in it. Truth, justice, honor, the great principles of human association, have not changed, but man's apprehension of them has steadily grown clearer as his determination to live up to them has grown stronger, and as the individual has become more conscious of his powers, both physical and intellectual. "History and Democracy," in the *American Historical Review*, vol. 1, p. 5, (October, 1896.)

[2] Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menscheit, Bk. VII, c. III. 3.

is, from the rich lands of Etruria; hence, in turn, they could exchange these products with all the peoples of the Midland Sea.[1] And again, when a new Rome had to be built, how worldly-wise was the son of Constantius Chlorus when he despised the sentimental charms of Ilion and reared the new imperial throne on the Golden Horn, where the pressing problems of observation, security and transportation could be most easily solved! What has the cold, frowning, impassable wall of the Pyrenees meant for Spain, the capricious Nile for Christian Egypt, the interminable flow of Volga for Russia![2] Barring an excessive application, these considerations are of great use to every student of Church history.

VIII.

While the materials for Church history have been collected with so much pains, the use made of them is still more remarkable. In place of the simple credulity of the ages of faith,

[1] The work of Rome in history was two-fold,—first and foremost to create Italian unity and then, with the power so gained, to solve the problems her rivals could not solve, the maintenance of peace and order in the Mediterranean, the civilization of the ruder races round its coasts, and the defense of that civilization against the barbarians of the East and North. The place of Rome in Italy partly explains the union of Italy under Roman supremacy; the place of Italy in the Mediterranean is a still larger factor in the extension of that supremacy over the civilized world.—How and Leigh, "History of Rome," 1896, p. 2.

[2] "Among historic spots there are some whose interest is oecumenical. In them the whole world, at least the whole world of Aryan Europe, lies before you as in a figure. The history of tongues and creeds and races rises more clearly before our sight as we tread the Marble Way of Palermo, as we think how tall ships rode at anchor at either side of us, as we pass from the haven where the men of Canaan first made their home, by the palace of the Emirs to the palace of the Kings, to the Church which holds the dust of the Wonder of the World, to the arch which records the victory of the last Augustus who planted the Cross of Christendom and the Eagle of Rome on the shores which had seen the conquests of Agathoklês, of Regulus and of Roger. From the tomb of Frederic and the trophies of Charles we may go back to the noblest centre that any city of man can show; under the shelter of the four guardian virgins we look up to the mountains on the three sides of us, to the mid-sea of Europe on the fourth; we look up to the height on which the thunderbolt of Carthage, Hamilkar Barak himself, kept his camp where men now go to pay homage to St. Rosalia; we look up to the western height, to the royal mount which William the Good crowned with his wondrous minster; we cast our eyes over the plain where Miletus won his spoil of Punic elephants to the hill down whose slopes marched Garibaldi and his Thousand. The pages of the whole world's history are open to us within the walls of the city thrice won for Europe, once won for for Christendom by the Epeirot, the Roman and the Norman; the rival nations of the earth seem gathered in their meeting-place within the happy City of the Threefold Tongue. There we see the great cycles of man's history alive before us; we see the Byzantine Greek, the African Saracen, carrying on the memory and the work of the colonists of old Hellas and old Phoenicia, till they could rest for awhile from the eternal strife of the Aryan and Semitic man, till each could flourish unharmed after his own fashion beneath the equal sceptre of the kings of Teutonic blood and Roman speech."—Freeman, "Methods of Historical Study," p. 315.

the science of Historical Criticism has sprung up.[1] Hard experience of human ignorance, weakness and deception has compelled students to examine more closely the genuinity and integrity of historical materials; the authentic pieces have been in great measure separated from the forgeries; a multitude of interpolations recognized; another multitude of miscellaneous tamperings detected. The ancient manuscripts where they yet exist have been examined with very great care,—the place of their origin, the originals from which they were copied sought after. Besides that, the historical materials have been carefully separated into public indestructible monuments, and tradition written, oral, or pictorial; the characters of authors have been more carefully studied, their early training with all its perdurable force; their likes, dislikes, hates and attachments; the influence of time, place and surroundings, more carefully noted. Men have learned to control the statements of annalists and chroniclers by other witnesses. They have discovered that under the faded surface of the manuscript page there are possible many strata of materials, many bits of patchwork, that many industrious hands may have labored at a work that to us seems to be what it claims for itself, the personal offspring of a single mind. They have seen the forgery of entire annals covering several centuries, and so affecting the history of a certain nation that even to-day their influence continues to be felt. Thus they have learned to yield only that measure of assent which is justified by the amount of valid evidence before them. For the true historian is not a mere reciter or narrator, but a judge who must decide by the evidence, and not by his own feelings.

The methods of critical control sufficient for a credulous

[1] "En histoire, comme dans toutes les autres branches des connaissances humaines, il ne faut accepter les maîtres que comme des guides. Ils doivent nous faire remarquer tous les monuments qui peuvent nous mener à la vérité, nous aider à en saisir la valeur et nous faire arriver de cette manière, par une route droite et facile, à l'évidence que les premiers explorateurs n'ont atteinte que par de longs détours et au prix de pénibles travaux. Là se borne leur rôle. Celui qui recoit ainsi leurs leçons, loin d'être jeté dans la perplexité par l'opposition de leurs manières de voir, trouvera toujours un grand avantage à entendre des enseignements contraires; car il sera plus assuré de ne perdre aucune des indications qui peuvent éclairer son jugement. A mesure qu'il avancera, il s'accontumera à tout examiner par lui-meme, à ne rien admettre que sur bonne preuve, et bientôt son esprit, développé et fortifié par l'exercice, pourra s'aventurer seul dans le champ des découvertes historiques, signaler des monuments et des aspects encore inconnus, èclaircir, rectifier sur bien des points les vues de ses devanciers et reculer les bornes du domaine de la science."—Père de Smedt, S. J., Principes de la Critique Historique. (Paris, 1883,) p. 42.

age, when the monuments and documents were few or unknown, are not valid for another when they are abundant, and the critical temperament is common. One must distinguish between the value of the texts in their original language and in a translation, or, as sometimes happen in a translation of a translation; again, between texts in free untrammeled prose and metrical texts where the chronicle is hemmed by certain claims of rhyme or quantity. Allowance must be made for the genius of the language itself. Crucial words of ancient writers must be interpreted according to their current value when written, and not according to accepted or archaic use. The student must carefully abstain from transferring to the past his present prejudices or convictions. These are the result of other and later knowledge and experiences, and it is as unjust to make them the criteria of men and things in the past as it would be to apply to youth the judicial severity with which we estimate the doings of a maturer age.

In this century, more than in any other, all the native gifts of the mind have been expended on the elaboration of the ancient materials for Church history,—the power of combination, the frequent and correct use of analogy, the rare and delicate skill in restoring missing links of narrative, the happy use of the hypothesis. Here the Church historian has need of certain mental virtues common to him with the ethnologist,—a certain creative gift, a power of compelling the presence of fugitive links or elements through a sure intuition based on much general knowledge and experience, familiarity with all existing material as well as with the history of his problem and the native endowment of a peculiar genius or skill, whose primitive origin and measure are often as hard to trace as the countless runlets that first meet in a fountain of crystal depth and purity. A John Baptist De Rossi and a Louis Duchesne are the products of much more time and wider remoter influences than can easily be determined.

IX.

A few words may not be amiss apropos of the particular utility which certain theological sciences draw from the study of Church history. We may divide the theological sciences

roughly into four great branches, as they have for their specific object the Holy Scriptures, the Doctrine of the Church, her Discipline, and her Worship.

Holy Scripture.—The basis of all scientific theology is the Holy Scriptures, as held and interpreted by the Church. But how important a part does the history of the Church play in the study of Holy Scriptures! Who can claim to know the Scriptures if he is not in some measure acquainted with such problems as the formation of the Canon, both of the Old and New Testament, the literary history of the great versions both in the classical and vernacular tongues, the manner of the preservation of the original texts, the views of different epochs on the Scriptures, the influence of the latter on popular life, the different styles of interpretation, the limits of their popularity, and their peculiar influence upon theological science as well as upon the development of Church institutions. In the first Church history that was ever written, that of Eusebius, a very large part is given to the problem of the Canon of the Scriptures. No one will properly understand the Latin Middle Ages who does not know something of the history of the Vulgate.[1] In the same manner, whoever would understand the history of modern England cannot leave out the marvellous influence of King James' Bible. The vernacular tongues of Europe are saturated with influences drawn from the Latin Vulgate. Without a knowledge of this book, that was more to Teuton and Kelt than Homer ever was to the Hellene, the history of the thoughts and style of a Dante is unintelligible, and away beyond Dante the numerous old Irish texts that furnished the rough material for the Vision of the great Seer themselves bear deep traces of the influence of this extraordinary version. There is such a thing as the genius of a language,—some delicate, elusive, but infinite charm that haunts

[1] L'histoire de la Vulgate est encore presqu' inconnue, et pourtant elle mérite, à tou égards, d'attirer l'attention. La Vulgate est, en effet, à peu pres la seule forme sous laquelle la Bible ait été répandue, pendant mille ans, dans tout l'occident; c'est la seule encore qui soit en usage dans l'église catholique. De la langue de la Vulgate, où le latin rustique des premiers siècles chrétiens se mêle à la latinité hébraïsante de Saint Jérôme, sont sorties pour une grande part, les langues romanes et particuliérement la langue française. La Vulgate a été, par excellence, le livre du moyen-âge. Aucun ouvrage n'a été copié si souvent et avec un si grand luxe, et sou histoire se confond avec l'histoire de ea paléographie, en même temps qu'elle est un des plus beaux chapitres de l'histoire de l'art chrétien.—Samuel Berger, "Histoire de la Vulgate" (Paris, 1893, Pref. p. 1.

the long use of accustomed accents, and has power to awaken the memories, sentiments, and emotions of the past, and clothe them with a soft halo of love and respect that no other human agency can imitate! Who will thoroughly understand the Christian literature of the first three centuries, and the propagation of the faith among the Jews and pagans, if he be not acquainted with the history of the Septuagint, that marvellous version of the Scriptures, which was like the broad, strong bridge over which the Jews came into the Church of Christ. Thus, too, we see the primitive influence of the Latin Church on the early Irish Church in the tenacity with which the latter clung for centuries to the old Itala version long after it had been given up elsewhere in Europe. Then again, to understand the origin of the Christian state in the ninth century, and the powerful influence of religion, it is very useful to know what a part the Old Testament played, with its theocratic form of government, and its absolute subordination of the civil to the spiritual. These are merely hints at the relation of Church history to the Scriptures. Every heresy, in its initial stages, at least, sought to shelter itself behind the rampart of Scripture. I might add the influence of commentaries, homilies, the catechetical and missionary instructions,—based, as a rule, on these versions, and which colored accordingly the life of the Church and the mediæval peoples.

Doctrine.—The doctrines of the Church are contained in the "deposit of faith," committed by Christ to the keeping of the ecclesiastical authority, and to which nothing may be added nor from which may anything be taken. But that does not prevent a certain development in every age, a clearer comprehension, a deeper penetration, a more luminous vision of the inter-relations between these truths.[1] Now, this evolution of Christian dogma is unintelligible without a knowledge of Church history. Without that knowledge we are liable to fall into one of two extremes, either to deny any development whatsoever, and thus lay ourselves open to the charge of ignor-

[1] "Its (the Church's) explanation of dogmas is influenced by ecclesiastical acts or events, its interpretations of prophecy are directly affected by the issues of history, its comments upon scripture by the conclusions of the astronomer and geologist, and its casuistical decisions by the various experiences, political, local, and psychological, with which times and places are ever supplying it." Cardinal Newman, Idea of a University, Discourse III, §4.

ance and fanaticism, or to overstep the lawful limit and maintain a heresy. The original documents of the early Church are few and mutilated. The history of those times tells us that men wrote comparatively little from a speculative point of view, and a great deal from a practical, *i. e.*, they were apologists whose chief work was to defend the great fundamental teachings of Christianity rather than expound scientifically all its tenets. We know, too, that they observed a certain prudential secrecy concerning their domestic and internal institutions, — the sacraments, discipline, life, devotions and the like, —mindful of the words of Christ : "Cast not your pearls before swine." We are aware also that the persecutors destroyed countless copies of Christian works, especially in the persecution of Diocletian. Shortly after, new controversies arose which so absolved men's minds that they forgot in a great measure the early Christian literature, and it is such antiquaries as Eusebius and St. Jerome that we may thank for the knowledge of the existence of many early Christian books, whose context is now unfortunately lost. Yet, of what is left we must make the best possible use. One sees at a glance how valuable each author becomes, how anxious we are to know about his character, his journeys, what lands he visited, what was his learning; how serious a thing a single date may be ; with what anxiety we seek to fix the actual contemporary meaning of important words ; with what deep interest we follow the excavations in Rome and in those parts of Asia Minor where Christianity was first introduced; how necessary it is to follow the social and legal changes in heathen life under the softening and purifying influence of Christianity. In a word, the student of the doctrines of the early Church must resign himself to become acquainted, to some extent, not only with Church history, but with profane history, with the history of Greek and Latin literature, with archæology profane and ecclesiastical. Our life to-day is a part of the actual social complex, unintelligible without it. Five hundred years from now the doctrines of the Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception may be surrounded with many difficulties that a complete knowledge of our history would dispel.

Ecclesiastical Discipline.—The discipline of the Church through the ages is one of the most interesting as well as one

of the most puzzling of problems. In the light of Church history we see how she is ever adapting herself to the age, society, and government, the nation, the popular needs; that she never allows herself to utterly crystallize, never clings desperately to a departing order of things, but seeks ever, with all gentleness and firmness, to cut loose from the wreckage of the past.

In the beginning the memory of the apostolic administration, imbedded in the hearts of the first disciples, sufficed for the government of the Church, coupled with the written legislation of the Gospel and the Epistles. What a vivid portrait of the ideal government of these decades is contained in the Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians! Then came with years short written summaries of the apostolic precepts, with adaptations of them to the altered circumstances of the second and third centuries,—such books as the Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apostolic Canons, and the older portions of the Apostolic Constitutions, the early Church legislation of Egypt, perhaps the Canons of Hippolytus. The curious Canons of Gregory Thaumaturgus and Peter of Alexandria belong to this period, as well as the Cyprianic and Cornelian reforms. Add to these the synods of the second and third centuries, the great councils of the fourth and fifth, as well as the papal decretal correspondence that grows more frequent from the end of the fourth century, certain acts and constitutions of the Christian emperors, and we have the groundwork on which at the beginning of the sixth century arises the first attempt at a codification of the Church law.

What a marvellous net-work of administration the government of the Church exhibits to us to-day, reaching on one hand to the most trivial actions, and on the other dealing with nations and epochs and cultures! All this did not grow in a day. In the beginning all ecclesiastical life centred about the bishop. The priests were his spiritual crown, his counsel, his catechists; the deacons his temporal arm.[1] In time the Roman

[1] "Do ye all follow your bishop, as Jesus Christ followed the Father, and the presbytery as the Apostles; and to the deacons pay respect as to God's commandments. Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be; even as where Jesus may be, there is the Catholic Church." St. Ign. ad Smyrnaeos, c. 8.

Church broke up the diaconal office; while reserving the nobler attributions to the deacons, she divided the inferior ones among the sub-deacons, the acolytes, porters, lecturers and exorcists. It was about this nucleus of the organized hierarchy that grew up the minor societies of the deaconesses, widows, virgins, notaries, confessors and martyrs, ascetics, fossors and the like,—according as circumstances favored, and in accordance with the principles of Catholic faith. In the midst of heresy and persecution among the masses of the poor, suffering and abandoned, the episcopal authority grew, favored no little by the imperial character of the age and the municipal constitution of the empire. The authority of its head became more visible and tangible, so that at the beginning of the fourth century the Bishop of Rome stands out as the chief of a hierarchy which had its hand on the popular pulse from the Euphrates to the Danube. This episcopate was strong enough not only to arrest the decline of the empire and assuage the evils of its dissolution, but also to impose upon the barbarian kings and peoples, to whom it became the intermediary of Roman culture, language, moderation and religion. The affection of Romans and barbarians enriched the Roman Church with patrimony after patrimony until it became the most powerful land-owner in the West. When the Eastern emperors could no longer protect the people of Italy from Lombard or Saracen; when for many decades already the Holy See had been the quasi-ruler of a large part of Italy, Providence gave it a juridical title to that small state from which it formed and directed Europe for seven centuries.

Ecclesiastical Worship.—No department of theology stands more in the need of the light of Church history than that which is concerned with the exterior cultus of the Church. We see the origin of this cultus in the Eucharistic banquet, the center of Christian life, ordained by Christ Himself. But the first Christians were Jews, by birth or descent, and they engrafted the Christian services on certain traditional forms of their own,—prayers, reading, instruction, thanksgiving and the like. In time they separated the love-feast or Agape from the Eucharist, and the celebration of the latter was fixed in the morning instead of the evening. In different lands dif-

ferent ceremonies grew up. Since the middle of the third century the Latin service was a fact at Rome. The Greek tongue, which had prevailed during the second century, though never to the utter exclusion of the Latin, ceased to maintain its prestige. The Hellenic influences were driven out of Rome by the growing power and numbers of the barbarians, and by a kind of re-birth of local pagan Romanism. At the same time, by the foundation of Constantinople the Greek tongue obtained a new lease of life and power in an atmosphere more favorable to it than that of Old Rome. The virulent jealousy of the clergy of Constantinople, that eternal obstacle to the unity of the Churches; the great and little schisms that followed the Council of Chalcedon; the loss of the Illyrian provinces early in the eighth century, the use of their vernacular conceded to the converted Slavs in the ninth century, practically fixed, with some exceptions, the boundaries of the Latin rite up to the discovery of America.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

ON IRISH PHONOLOGY.

Phonology is the science devoted to the reporting and registering of spoken sounds. In proceeding to its end it has choice of two methods: either by a minutely accurate description of the relative positions of the organs of speech during a tone interval, together with the size and shape of the accompanying resonance room, or by a detailed comparison of each voice-impact with the already known sound-elements of other languages. Equipped with its fullest resources, the science employs a combination of these two methods, and even lays under contribution the results in sound analysis furnished by acoustics. When it reports to one ignorant of a certain language the full scheme of tones and modulations which constitute the sound-table of that particular form of speech with the mathematical precision of a phonograph, its work is ideally perfect. If the cylinder records of phonographs were as easy to multiply as books and as indestructible as a printed page, the science of phonology would be *ipso facto* superseded, and we should have abundant material on hand to proceed to the further science of comparative phonology, or philology.

Even in its present imperfect condition phonology is the foundation of philology. The latter is the science which directs the scientific study of language. Now, language is ultimately a physical thing requiring for installation a generator, a transmitter, and a receiver. The transmitter is the atmosphere, and language is its complex and multitudinous burthen of vibrations. To compare, classify, or to busy oneself in any way with those vibrations, the receiver, *i. e.*, the ear, must be brought into requisition. Obviously, therefore, language to be scientifically treated must be heard. Failing that essential, one must be content with a clumsy substitute, namely, the very imperfect and primitive phonographic record called literature.

Spoken languages can be subjected to direct examination, and their affinities and discrepancies easily noted. But the

science of philology would very soon stop short or proceed only by way of vain conjecture if there was not to hand a further supply of material. Because, owing to the change process ever at work in spoken dialects, languages really akin have now drifted so wide apart that the task of tracing them back to a common origin would fail for want of knowledge of their intermediate states along the lines of divergence. Fortunately, however, most tongues possess written records called literature ; some beginning at a very distant past and reaching up to the present day. Those become for us witnesses of the condition of each language at the time of writing, and preserve many intermediate steps in the course of development. And it is always found that the farther back a language is examined the more rich it is in grammatical forms, and the more resemblance it bears to kindred tongues. But this literature, in order to become matter for philological research, must be first subjected to the criticism of phonology. The value of the written signs must perforce be determined before we can picture to ourselves the condition of the spoken language at the date of any written monument. Hence long investigations are often necessary in order to determine the phonetic value of a given system of orthography.

At best the written is but a very poor presentment of the spoken word. We learn to spell and read at school, and accept it on the schoolmaster's authority that a certain picture represents a certain sound. Later we connect the one with the other as by a sort of necessity. But if we consider attentively a spoken word, marking the variety of motions, the minute changes of relative position, the infinitesimal differences of contact and approach of the various sound organs, with the added complications of stress, intonation, and breathing that are required for its production, we shall find that the number of signs supposed to constitute its speaking likeness is sadly inadequate. Yet all those conditions are necessary to the correct enunciation of the word, so much so that if only one were omitted or misplaced the result would be a noticeable blur in production. It is evident, therefore, that all spelling is the conventional representation of a word by signs which stand for merely a few of the more obvious and salient voice

movements required for speaking it. In other words, all orthography is a system of shorthand. Now, it is the business of phonology to lengthen out this shorthand and give a voice to the literature. The science has, therefore, a double function,—the preservation and classification of spoken sounds and the furnishing of a key to the puzzles of historical orthographies.

In dealing with the spoken and written monuments of the Irish, phonology has this two-fold task. As regards spoken Irish there is a good deal of work to be done. Broadly speaking, there are but two well defined dialects in Irish,—the Northern and the Southern. The latter occupies the territory from Waterford to Galway, the former all north of Clare with the islands, highlands of Scotland, and the Isle of Man. There are, besides, minor dialectical shades that offer material of very great interest. This material must be collected if modern Irish is to be treated scientifically. The written language of to-day offers no help, for though all agree in retaining the historical orthography of words, yet each pronounces differently according to the tradition of his district. Examining these words closer we find they are written almost exactly as in the old Irish period, a curious instance of the survival of a historical system of writing for a period of at least fifteen hundred years. The later grammarians and orthoëpists also give no help because their statements are in almost all cases misleading. They generalize largely and basing their deductions on a superficial knowledge of the phonetic value of Irish orthography discard all variations from their own short-sighted normal as corruptions. Therefore, the language itself as it falls from the lips of speakers must be examined. And this, not alone that we may thereby be furnished with material for scientific research, but also that the path may be smoothed for the learner. Indeed all scientific subtleties that neither help the student nor elucidate the literature may be regarded as barren. But in helping one to acquire a knowledge of the language phonology has its legitimate and fitting province. By means of it alone can learners hope to acquire a knowledge of the traditional form of Irish which is now before us. Each and every individual sound, it matters not which dialect is

chosen, must be studied and imitated reverently, carefully, and with an absolute disregard for prejudices derived from English or any foreign source whatsoever. If everything is not traditional then the student should know that he is learning not Irish but an empirical Volapuk that was never said or sung.

The second function of phonology, that of assigning a definite value to the symbols of historical orthography, is eminently before it in dealing with Irish written monuments. And the complex nature of the case requires here not an isolated phonological discussion, but rather a chain of them. First, the spoken language must be treated in order to understand the phonetic value of the present system of orthography. Then the few variants from older usage, found in modern Irish, will furnish a basis to attack the puzzles of middle Irish, and a safe footing being once gained there we can go still further back to a knowledge of the true meaning of old Irish spelling.

Formerly people were of opinion that old Irish was a self-contained study entirely independent of the modern forms of the language. This was, of course, but natural, because the founder of the study, Johan Kaspar Zeuss, was a Bavarian, who, presumably, never heard a word of Irish spoken. But later, however, it began to be observed that modern Irish supplied explanations for many puzzles in the older orthography, particularly in the article of consonant mutation. At first it was the custom to pronounce old Irish as it is written, or according to the apparent face-value of the word. But it was noticed that such a pronunciation in certain instances fitted awkwardly with the etymology, whereas modern orthography (the few minor changes whereof are always in the direction of phonetic spelling) was in perfect agreement with it. Thence it was found that the new system gave a key to the understanding of the old. And now the question is not how far does modern pronunciation differ from the old, but how far are they identical. The writing has persisted, almost unchanged, for fifteen hundred years; so, too, in a great measure, has the pronunciation.

A further comparison of old with new revealed many points of dependence and relation, and finally it could be said that

the real meaning of Irish orthography was becoming intelligible. The more it became known the more the wonderful perfection of the system was admired. The genesis of Irish writing lies beyond the pall inscrutable that shrouds the night of the prehistoric period. In every county of Munster, in portions of Leinster and South Wales, are found certain upright stones, mostly of rude conglomerate texture, grey, lichen-covered monoliths. They are frayed on their weather-beaten sides and for a cause, for they have stood against the rain and sunshine of more than twenty centuries. Yet those are the silent witnesses to the primitive culture of the children of the Gael. For on the angles of those stones, rudely incised, are found scorings arranged in groups of from one to five, and forming, by their combinations, a full alphabetic scheme of vowels and consonants. Those inscriptions usually consist of a mere record of the name and patronymic of the person buried beneath, and are written in a type of Goidlic so archaic that it must be referred to a very remote antiquity. So it can be said that when Greek colonists were inscribing their historical monuments on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the grey dawn of history, the colonists of another great literature-folk were doing the same in the west, among the people of Britain. For those monuments in Britain are inscribed not in Welsh but in Goidlic, like their Irish compeers, and stand withal irrefragable witnesses to the antiquity of letters amongst our people, and hint something, moreover, about the extent of our ancient dominion.

With Christianity came a knowledge of the Latin alphabet and the use of vellum as material to write upon. Hitherto the books of the Gaels had been made of wooden staves. The old characters were transliterated into their Latin equivalents just as one nowadays should write Greek or German in letters of our ordinary script. The ancient, or ogham, form of writing was not, however, completely discarded; it was still kept by poets and others as a cryptographic alphabet. Count Nigra discusses its appearance in an Irish manuscript of the ninth century in St. Gall, in Switzerland. This Irish, written in Latin lettering, is of course the first that has come down to

us in any quantity. And here for the first time we have sufficient material for an exhaustive study of the phonetic system.

The Irish used but eighteen signs in writing. Now modern Irish comprises some eighty sounds. We may safely presume that those sounds are traditional and existed in the old Irish period. Hence we are confronted by the problem how to represent eighty sounds (and even those further complicated by interaction in contact) by only seventeen signs. To solve this question we must critically examine the oldest documents in the light of knowledge gleaned from the modern and middle Irish periods. After a long and exhaustive search the truth is only now beginning to be known. And it is found that the old Irish grammarians accomplished their task with an exactitude and thoroughness beyond parallel. The ever-varying combinations of the material are rigidly covered by an interlocked system of sign-representation that holds all in a light and firm bond. Nor does the deftness of the master mind fail when the necessity for taking certain delicate vocalic harmonies into account appears to render the difficulty of the task hopeless. This fact brings us to a new consideration.

It is this: That of all the peoples speaking kindred languages occupying the territory stretching from the mouth of the Ganges to the mouth of the Shannon, only those inhabiting the extreme limits on either side have preserved intact certain common characteristics derived from the primeval Indo-European tongue and the folk who used it. Those are the Irish and the Aryan or Sanskrit peoples, and their common characteristics are the blent or bonded system of language, and their knowledge and use of an exact science of grammar. Look back as far as we may into the history of these peoples we are ever confronted by the fact that they, and they only, consciously subjected their languages to analysis and grammatical classification. None other of the kindred peoples presents this exact study as the invariable concomitant of their literary history. The science of grammar was of very recent growth among the Greeks and Romans, and developed only when the glory of their golden period was paling to extinction. But the grammatical activity of the Irish and of the people of India began in the prehistoric period and reaches down to the

present day. How in both cases the later exercise of this study tended to dissociate itself from the language and establish itself as an independent science is a commonplace. In fact, the results of over-prosecution of grammar and lexicography on this self-contained basis constitute a serious stumbling-block nowadays to the students of Irish and Sanskrit.

The second characteristic uniting the East and the West is the chained property of language called, in Sanskrit, sandhi, and in Irish grammar, vocalic, consonantal and nasal infection. This is a peculiarity springing from the language of primitive unity by virtue of which all words were bonded, dove-tailed and fitted together ; insomuch that it is plain that not the word, but the sentence, was the unit element of language. In the intermediate dialects traces of this may still be observed, merely enough to show that it was one time a universal feature. By the use of this property all the varying elements employed to put a complicated proposition into words are reduced to a level potential, and the sentence goes forth a knit and compacted thing that is not merely a procession of sounds, but a something possessing organic unity and life in all its members. Yet the subtle and complicated processes involved would be comprised forsooth in the few rules for aspiration and eclipsis given by our new grammarians !

Those, and some like thoughts, should warn us that Irish phonology and orthography are not to be lightly approached, but rather in a befitting meekness of spirit, and with at least some of the necessary equipment of knowledge. A controversy, perhaps yet remembered, in a Dublin print of a few years ago concerning the best method of simplifying (!) modern Irish orthography will stand an example of that which should not be done. Learners, however, require to hold fast by only one principle—a determination to catch and reproduce with rigorous exactness the sounds of the language as they fall from a traditional, not a literary, speaker.

RICHARD HENEBRY.

CATHOLICITY AND CIVILIZATION.

In the study of the origin and development of society, of the laws of progress and those of the decadence of nations, and in the philosophy of history, a central and vital question is that of the relation of religion to civilization.

In writing under the caption, Catholicity and Civilization, I have no intention of indicating the literature, exposing theories, or refuting errors to which this vast theme has given origin. My aim is much more simple; it is determined by the circumstances of our time.

The consideration of the subject has of late been narrowed down to the partial view of one phase of the problem,—the social, political and economic position of Catholic peoples and their comparison with Protestant nations. Hardly a word is ever said about the Schismatic countries. The question is always a live one, but interest in it is occasionally increased by national or international events. Then, in an instant, magazines, newspapers, and pulpit are teeming with comparisons, statistics, etc. Whether or not pure love of truth can explain all this is more than doubtful. Passion and prejudice—familiar figures in all controversy—are by no means absent. We do not meet the logic, the temperate tone, the erudition and method which men of true science possess and use. And in general, the conclusions reached are far from favorable to the Catholic Church.

I believe that the sources whence most of the material is taken are not far to seek. First of all, there is the article written in 1875 by the economist, Em. de Laveleye, *Le protestantisme et le catholicisme dans leurs rapports avec la liberté et la prosperité des peuples.* It appeared originally in the *Revue de Belgique.* Soon thereafter it was published in Paris as a pamphlet, entitled *De l'avenir des peuples catholiques.* It was quickly translated into the chief languages of the world. There were two translations into English, one published in London with an introduction by Gladstone, and another published in New York by Rev. L. W. Heydenreich; two into

German, for one of which Bluntschli wrote the preface; two Swedish, one Italian, one Portuguese published in Rio Janeiro and reprinted in New York; two Spanish, one published at Madrid and one at Valparaiso; one in Hungarian, one in Bohemian, one in Greek, one in Polish, one in Japanese. The number of editions known is forty-six. The success of the work was not warranted by its really mediocre merit, but it is explained by the time of its appearance. It was written during the Kulturkampf; evidently a *mot d'ordre* was given. Not even the well known name of its author could have sufficed to win for the article the fame it enjoyed. Naturally the work called forth many refutations. The best one—a masterly work—was by the late Baron de Haulleville, at that time director of the *Revue Generale*, and afterwards professor of history in the military school of Brussels.

Some twenty years before de Laveleye wrote his article, a French Protestant minister, Napoléon Roussel, published a work[1] on the subject which has been almost forgotten, but the refutation that it met from the pen of the witty skeptic, John Lemoine, of the French Academy, has not. Going further back we meet the erroneous views of Guizot concerning the Church, as he expressed them about 1840, in his History of European Civilization, and their triumphant refutation in the immortal work of Balmes.[2] A more exact title might have been History of the Development of European Civilization under the Action of the Principle of Catholicism.

By the preceding we mean only to call attention to the more recent phases of this question. The controversy is old, its literature extensive, its cardinal point unchanged. But the dramatis personae are different. The charges of Protestant ministers against Catholicity, aside from questions of form, are identical with those which the contemporaries of St. Augustine and the Apostate Julian made against Christianity itself. It were well did our opponents remember this.

In taking up the question, I intend no polemic. I make no appeal to Catholic partisanship or Protestant sympathy. I

[1] Les nations catholiques et les nations protestantes considerées sous le triple rapport du bien-être des lumiéres et de la moralite.

[2] El protestantismo comparado con el catholicismo en sus relaciones con la civilizacion europen.

address myself to the good sense, spirit of fairness, and logic of my reader in a discussion of the method and the principles which should govern the entire discussion.

I.—Method.

Before one can discuss civilization and compare its stages in different countries, the extent and content of the word should be carefully determined. It is no service to the truth to manipulate vague terms to suit a purpose which is other than the discovery of the truth.

The word civilization is derived from *civis*, *civilis*, and is comparatively of recent origin. Its appearance not only in the Neo-Latin languages, but also in the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon, was hardly made before the present century. Everyone employs the word to-day,—how many would agree in defining it? Authors rarely define it or analyze the idea. Even those who have written on civilization forget their science and become orators when they attempt a definition. Consequently they are vague and at times self-contradictory. Like Mill, who could not or would not analyze the idea of wealth, assuming instead that everyone knows what it is, such writers trust to the hazy notions of their readers. In both cases the result is—confusion.

But few encyclopedias contain articles on Civilization. Chambers' and the new French *Grande Encyclopédie* do; the Brittanica and the American do not, nor even Johnson's most recent edition. The idea awakened by the word is that of the realization, more or less complete, of a certain ideal condition of human society. For the individual, the term implies a certain degree of material well-being, health, intelligence, morality, and religion; for the community, people or nation, a certain perfection in political constitution, laws, government, social functions, and international relations. These various components must be sought in an orderly and harmonious manner.

The supreme end of man, of the individual, must furnish us with the scale of values by which we measure them—"Fine constituto," as Cicero expresses it, "constituta sunt omnia." Society is a mans, not an end, for its members.

Hence its highest degree of civilization is that in which or by which it can offer to the greatest number of its members the greatest facilities for reaching their true destiny. Clearly then, if we wish to be serious, to get at the bottom of the question we must start with the idea of man and his destiny. Those who disagree at this starting point can have nothing in common beyond it.

Civilization is made up of many elements; material, corporal, intellectual, moral, political. Of varying importance, closely identified in one way but loosely connected in another, an attempt to arrange them in an ideal combination is apt to puzzle rather than satisfy the student. Economic conditions affect morality very extensively while morality in turn closely concerns our material well-being. Then again, each of those elements is in itself complex. Intellectual development must comprehend not only elementary knowledge, but the arts and sciences as well. I believe that no fair reader would call a nation truly civilized which presented a high degree of economic development accompanied by a low stage of morals, were such a combination possible. Or again, vast national riches very unevenly distributed, showing extremes of riches and of poverty side by side, would hardly constitute an ideal state of civilization. Neither would numerous artists, men of letters and science, if the mass of the people remained densely ignorant, as was the case in Greek and Roman civilization. The legitimate conclusion to which these considerations must lead a fair-minded man is this—*in comparing nations and their state of civilization, one must consider the various elements of civilization and look at them under all their aspects.*

Let us take an illustration which will bring this thought home to the American reader. Let us suppose that we are discussing morality in the United States. I touch on *private* morals and insist exclusively or largely on the 328,716 divorces granted between 1867 and 1886. I remark that in 1867 the number was 9,937; in 1886, it was 25,535. I note that 20.5 per cent. of them were granted on account of adultery; 15.7 per cent. for cruel treatment; 38.54 per cent. on account of desertion. I call in to support my position, the editorials in our great dailies

which appeared on all sides during these last days, on the occasion of the discussion of the marriage canon before the Episcopalian Convention in Washington. Suppose, furthermore, that in discussing *public* morals, I confine myself to the corruption seen in our electoral system. An intricate plan of registration and regulation of time, place and manner of voting is an emphatic declaration that neither candidates for office nor voters are to be trusted. Bribery stalks through our legislative halls, bold and unblushing. Furthermore, I call attention to the lynchings which disgrace our country. Suppose, then, that I cite in proof, our chief dailies and our magazines; investigating committees, declarations of national, state and local platforms of both great parties; and the dozens of speeches delivered before both Houses of Congress accusing public officials of every kind of corruption and iniquity. Were I to do all that, I would be manifestly unscholarly and basely dishonest toward the nation. I should study the whole field of morals, of ethical, political and social obligations. I should study not only crime and immorality but as well the manifestations of virtue, integrity, heroism, honesty and devotion. An honest view must include all this, and a scholar should have no views that are not honest.

Without discussing the mysterious forces that underlie the great movement of civilization from East to West, from South to North, and *vice versa*, let us remark again that civilization depends on many causes, chief among them being sun, climate, race, economic condition, international relations. *An intelligent student must take account of all the influences which favor or retard the development of civilization.* For example, a South American republic compares badly with a Swiss canton in regard to popular instruction. Is this inferiority due to Catholicity, or rather to the constitution of the people, whose blood is perhaps nine-tenths Indian? I would scarcely blame Protestantism for conditions in Liberia, or Calvinism for the state of things existing some years ago in the Transvaal. The Catholicity of Spain can not entirely explain the sobriety of its people, nor can Protestantism be entirely to blame for the intemperance prevalent some thirty years ago among the peoples of the North. Climate is a factor in both cases. May

we not conclude then *that a comparison of religions and their effect on civilization is just and honest, only when we compare them in peoples of the same race, climate and economic conditions?* Why not compare Dutch Catholics with Dutch Protestants; German Catholics with German Protestants; the Swiss Catholics of Friburg with Swiss Protestants in Vaud. On the other hand, it is hardly scientific to compare Irish Catholics in Connaught with the Protestants of Ulster, since governmental conditions have been so widely different.

We must keenly discriminate the various phases of religion when instituting comparisons. Thus, not to go outside of Christianity, we must distinguish Catholic nations (Belgium, Luxemburg, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Central and South America); schismatic countries (Russia, Greece, Roumania, Servia, Bulgary); Protestant nations (England, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark); mixed (Holland, one-third Catholic; Germany, over one-third Catholic; Switzerland, one-half Catholic; Austria, three-fourths Catholic; Ireland, three-fourths Catholic.) The United States occupies a unique position. The last census reports Catholics as first in number, with 6,258,000 communicants; Methodists, with 4,598,000; Baptists, with 3,718,000; Presbyterians, with 1,278,000; Lutherans, with 1,231,000; Episcopalians, 552,900; and an endless number of other sects in much smaller proportions, altogether about 20,000,000. The remainder of our population, 44,000,000, is composed of non-communicants and the *unchurched;* these latter, though of no Church, are at least Christian in sentiment. This complex table must be kept before the mind of the student, if he is an honest seeker after truth, and he must not fail to note the inroads that modern rationalism has everywhere made.

There are ups and downs in national life as there are in individual life. There are times of force, action, vigor, and there are times of languor, enervation, inaction. Neither individual nor family nor people can escape from that law. Now, then, to form an intelligent estimate of a people we must take its whole history, its entire career, and not a simple moment in that career. Geography and statistics must be drafted into service as well as history. As for statistics, let

us get them from official, responsible sources, and not from irresponsible journals. Even using them when derived from official sources, let us get their *objective* as well as their *numerical* value. Their objective value is not uniform, as any well-posted reader knows.[1] Then, too, statistics, need to be interpreted by the institutions of a people. Before concluding as to crimes from the number of prisoners in a country, one should examine the spirit of its criminal law, the efficiency of police, the exercise of pardoning power, the parole system, the definition of misdemeanor and crime, and local circumstances. Again, take illegitimacy as an illustration. We find a low rate of illegitimacy in one country, a high rate in another. The value of the figures will be governed by the impediments to marriage which may exist here and not there,—military laws, property qualifications, etc. Finally, we must supply deficiencies. Statistics show but one side of life. As Bastiat puts it, there are things that we see and things that we do not see. We see, to recur to our illustration, the number of illegitimate children as reported and recorded (often incomplete), but what we do not find recorded, to speak with Tertullian, are the practices by which conception or birth is forestalled. "*Homicidii festinatio est prohibere nasci.*" What value have mere figures, then, when a high rate of illegitimacy cannot be taken absolutely to indicate a lower degree of specific morality. Again, we see the number of public crimes, but we find nowhere recorded in long rows of changeless figures the acts of virtue, heroism, integrity on which the optimist rests his hope.

Finally, to narrow down to the last point in this series of observations, *a religion is best judged when it is taken at a period when it was a living, vitalizing force; when it dominated a people, penetrated its being, inspired its acts.* It is hardly a fair test to take it at a time of indifference, when private life is only partly influenced by it and public life much less. The real scholar will not be slow to grant that this is axiomatic. We sometimes hear it said: "Wherever there is a country which is stationary and retrogressive, it is Catholic; wherever there is a people progressive and imperial, it is Pro-

[1] I have known of persons being counted three times in one official census, in spite of their protest. Former home, place of business, place where the census taker was met—the individuals in question were reported from each as distinct persons.

testant."[1] Therefore prosperity follows in the wake of Protestantism, and because of it, notwithstanding our political orators, who claim for a protective tariff alone this high prerogative. I could well reply to such reasoning. Two centuries ago Protestant peoples were more thoroughly Protestant than now and yet fared very badly; two centuries ago Catholic peoples were intensely Catholic and yet very prosperous.

That turns the tables, but it is not science nor a scholarly way of reasoning. It may serve to show the fallacy which is constantly resorted to in discussions on this theme. We use it with that alone in view.

II.—Civilizing Force in Catholicity.

Let us address our inquiry now to the doctrines and institutions of Catholicity as affecting civilization directly Through it we will find *that neither in the institutions, the laws nor the teachings of the Catholic Church is there anything to hinder the development of true civilization, but that on the contrary, everything favors it.*

The Son of God did not dwell among men to enrich them, or show them how to get the greatest amount of enjoyment out of life. He did not profess to teach mathematics, physics or literature. As St. Augustine says: "*Christianos volebat facere non mathematicos.*" He came to sanctify souls, to bring the knowledge of God to men, and to teach them to serve Him. He founded no state, wrote no constitution for one, but founded His Church. He asks us—commands us—to seek first the *Kingdom* of God and of His Justice, and He tells us that that Kingdom is not of this world. Christianity is a supernatural work; its institutions are supernatural, its end is supernatural—the eternal salvation of the soul.

Although the chief and direct aim of Christianity is the salvation of souls and not material prosperity, nevertheless there is harmony in the work of God. The supernatural order is the complement, the perfection of the natural. Wherever Christianity has penetrated it has brought about, aside from spiritual regeneration, a remarkable degree of temporal pros-

[1] The words of Dr. Weldon, Protestant Bishop designate of Calcutta.—See *Freeman's Journal*, October 29, 1898.

perity, creating a civilization higher and nobler than any and all others. This is called Christian civilization. It is the surplus reward of the search for the Kingdom of God and His Justice. Since I address myself to supposedly Christian readers, my only task here is to dwell on the action of Catholicism in particular; of the Church, one, holy, Catholic, which has been the principal agent in the civilizing work of Christianity. To do so, we will briefly look into the chief elements of civilization, already referred to.

The well-being of a people depends not only on soil and climate, but as well on its labor, the observation of justice and charity; its spirit of sacrifice and renunciation, its temperate habits. Labor applied to nature produces wealth, justice maintains labor within limits, and assures to it, its own; charity distributes to those who are deterred from sharing in the work of producing; economy and temperance augment capital, which is again used in production. Such are economic virtues, favoring, as they do, the best productivity and wisest distribution of economic goods. But such are par excellence Catholic virtues, in practice as well as in preaching. Witness the monks teaching agriculture to Europe, witness the mendicant orders assuaging the pains of misery and standing out as the organized opponents of luxury; witness the hundreds of thousands who have given all and self besides in the service of others.

Substantial food, pure air, sanitary dwellings, favor the physical development of a people, but chastity and austerity favor it much more. Famine and pest account for the decay of few nations; debauchery and immorality account for many. Leprosy, when most frightful, never counted as many victims as venereal diseases claim to-day in certain countries.[1] Where in the world are chastity and austerity, the safeguards of individual and of species, more earnestly insisted upon than in the Catholic Church? Where do we find such laws and institutions as those to which the attachment to these virtues has given rise in the Church?

The knowledge of the arts and sciences—so necessary to civilization—is fostered by the Church. She loves them for

[1] Claudio Jannet, Le socialisme d'Etat et la reforma sociale, c. 12, par. 5.

themselves. They are a revelation of the majesty and might of God, and they favor the faith which the Church teaches. She loves them for their service to her cause. Faith supposes reason, from which it receives its praeambula. No one was ever quicker to give reason its value and place in faith than St. Thomas. It was reason that helped to banish pagan illusions, astrology, fatalism, magic and superstition. Thus it is that the Church has constantly defended reason against all kinds of mediæval and modern skepticism; highly appreciated its endowments, as shown in the work of her theologians; established schools, colleges, universities, teaching orders which still flourish. The Church has never called reason a prostitute and the spouse of the evil one, never claimed that the sciences are sins or that universities are temples of Moloch.[1]

Coming to the question of morality, it is evident that it occupies the first place in any true civilization. Catholicity does not confine itself to the supernatural; it presupposes, it rests upon the natural. To be a Christian is to be first of all a man. No class of writers ever gave more conscientious and minute attention to ethics than did the theologians of the Church. In holding with a grip like iron to the dogma of free will and its consequence—human responsibility—the Church saved ethics from annihilation. For three centuries she has fought the fiction that pagan virtues are merely vices. She has her admirable system composed of school, catechism, preaching, spiritual reading, which aims to implant the seeds of virtue in the soul. She develops the sense of interior responsibility, awakens a conscience which aims at more than external respectability. Self-examination, enlightened by revelation, is an ordinary moral obligation on which she insists; a practice which even the wise old pagan moralists appreciated highly. In her system of spiritual direction we have crystallized into practice the wisest known principles of guidance to higher things. Her missions and retreats instituted for laity and clergy are meant to be appeals to reason, and not to passing emotions. Her penitential discipline gives to the individual soul unequalled advantages. It brings to the solution of every question of the soul, the accumulated wisdom of the ages; it

[1] See Janssen, History of the German People, II, c. 6.

has an answer for every doubt, a remedy for every evil, a refuge for every crisis through which the soul can pass. Finally, her penal code meets admirably all the requirements of the expiation of crime and the correction of the guilty.

The Church fosters social peace more directly and more powerfully than any other religious organization, and in social peace we have the highest result of the harmonious development of the various other elements of civilization. The dignity of man and his high destiny, his rights and his duties, are never for a moment forgotten. Natural and supernatural equality, fraternity, liberty, their logical consequences, find their place in the Church's teaching. While admitting social inequality, she strives earnestly to correct its tendencies by inculcating humility and charity. She respects the right of property, but also teaches the rights of labor; she combats luxury, avarice and egoism, and teaches the true nature of riches and the duties of the rich. She blesses marriage as God's divinely-ordered institution for the propagation of the human race, but she preaches the excellence of virginity and celibacy. Thus we see that social progress as well as the sanctification of souls should result from the action of the Church.

The family, which is the nucleus of society, has a preponderant influence in the development of civilization. The Church has ever been its best protector by her teaching and her action. She protects the sacred character of marriage, teaches its unity and indissolubility against its mortal foes, polygamy and divorce. On its every side, in every relation of husband and wife, parent and child, she watches, protects, and directs along lines laid down by the law of nature and of God, and by the demands of true progress.

Civil and political institutions which enable man to combine authority and order, liberty and law, contribute much to progress in civilization. But nowhere do we find principles better calculated to lead to such, than in the Catholic Church. For her, society is not based on contract but on nature, it is a means not an end, though in turn she teaches the individual his full duty to society. Social authority is made to rest on God and nature. The fundamental rights of man to live, to

labor, to marry, etc., are thereby protected from the caprice of the chance ruler. Then, too, authority is taught its limits. In the extent of its activity, and in enforcing its claim to obedience, it is limited by the primordial rights of individual and family, and is confined to temporal things. This peculiarly Catholic distinction between the two powers, is the safeguard of liberty of conscience, and hence of all liberty. A nation imbued with such principles is in little danger from anarchy, revolution, or despotism, but is, on the contrary, in a fair way to realize the highest law of its development.

Above and beyond national institutions, international relations enter essentially into the idea of plenary civilization. The ideal relations of friendship, commerce, the formation of treaties and alliances, called for by advancing humanity, are not easily realized. Egoism and ambition of people or princes seem to stand like sentries, ready to hinder, not to help. Everything in Catholicity makes for that realization ; the conception of charity, the catholicity of the Church, the character of the Supreme Pontiff. In the Truce of God, the institution of arbitration, the Holy Roman Empire, we have ample illustrations of this.

Such are the civilizing forces which Catholicity possesses. Do they produce, have they produced no result? Is their native efficiency neutralized by other elements which she carries in her bosom ?

There are some who think so. It is said that the supernatural is unduly emphasized ; that the pursuit of temporal ends is discouraged. This is to misunderstand the Church. She encourages every science, every art, every industry, every activity called for by highest progress and compatible with man's true destiny. Any force in the observation—were there any—would militate against Christianity as well as Catholicity.

There are others who shrug their shoulders and say that we make out work to be a result of original sin. Not work—the honor of humanity—not work is the result of sin, but the degradation, misery which too often accompanies it. But again, this is a Christian, not a distinctive Catholic thought.

"Immutability of Dogma," say others. But here again, let us be reasonable. Axioms and first principles are the

promise of progress by their fixedness. The fixedness of dogma, allowing, however, subjective development and progressive application, is no hindrance, as is shown by the fact. But here again, all Christians admit the immutability of dogma, disagreeing, not on the principle, but in its application.

Some there are who seem to find in the Catholic view of authority a barrier to progress. But what progress is possible without authority? To what excesses did its absence not lead in the French Revolution? Liberty and authority are as compatible as are individual and social action. Furthermore, authority is a Christian idea. There is only a difference of degree between Protestants and Catholics in the matter—both recognize the divine authority in religion, whether its seat is Church or Bible.

The Sacrament of Penance, celibacy, religious orders, feasts, etc., are variously urged as hindrances to true progress. But neither in the spirit nor in the working of those institutions can the charge be sustained. Not long since—a century ago—Europe heard cries against the economic consequences of Catholic feast days. The clamor was heard,—the number was reduced. The consequent abuses of labor soon caused a reaction, and on all sides attempts have been made to give the laborer more leisure than his Church feasts ever gave him. Last century we heard complaints against celibacy raised in the name of the rights of the nations; later it was the peril of overpopulation that became the popular theme; to-day the curse of voluntary sterility is spreading in more places than France.[1] We have heard the Church abused for her doctrine and practice regarding usury. Abuses in money-lending have caused a reaction in the shape of socialism which denies the legitimacy of interest. There are writers to-day—not a few either—who would characterize the borrower as the newest type of slave.[2]

I may conclude, then, that neither in the doctrine, nor in the institutions nor laws of the Catholic Church is there anything to hinder the development of true civilization. Everything favors it. By the Catholic Church and in it are devel-

[1] See *Neo-Malthusianism*, by R. Ussher, London, 1898.

[2] See Le Prêt à interêt, dernière forme de l'esclavage, par V. Modeste, Paris, Guillaumin 1889.

oped the first elements of all progress, labor, instruction, charity; in it are safeguarded the three great factors of civilization—unity, authority, liberty. The civilizing influence of the Church touches individual, family, social, political and international life. Hence, *where special causes do not intervene*, a Catholic people will necessarily advance in civilization, and the more thorough the Catholicity the more solid the progress. I readily admit, however, that in some phases of civilization, a non-Catholic people may be in advance of a Catholic people, just as I admit the same possibility for a non-Christian people as compared with a Christian nation. But in the light of our principles, this can not militate against Christianity or Catholicism.

I imagine that during the perusal of the preceding pages some readers will have formed the idea that the crucial point in the discussion has not yet been touched. It has not. We have as yet taken up only the question of *method* in the discussion and the *principles* of Catholic teaching, together with brief observations on some specific objections. There remains still the examination of *facts*,—the reading of history and the careful comparison of peoples according to the rules laid down. To that duty I will address myself as soon as other and more pressing claims on my time and attention will permit. In that inquiry I hope to make a comparative historical examination of Christian countries before the Reformation, since since the Reformation, and as they stand to-day.

THOMAS BOUQUILLON.

THE MITCHELL MEMORIAL SCHOLARSHIP.

The visit to the University on Thursday, October 27, of some seventy distinguished Catholic lay persons of both sexes, from the city of Brooklyn, is an event well worthy of being recorded in our annals with special distinction.

Its immediate occasion was the resolution to honor in some permanent way the memory of a good priest of their city and diocese whose memory they hold blessed, and whose example they wished to eternalize in the manner best calculated to cause an increase of churchmen who would be like him in life, ideals, and accomplishments. In the relations of the good Catholic priest to the people there is a sacramental nearness and tenderness that has no parallel in the history of religion. In the eyes of his people the priest is transfigured; he is to them the presence, the word, the heart of Jesus Christ, whose consecrated minister they firmly believe him to be. In the person of the priest they are in immediate contact with the holiest supernatural mysteries of religion, with the mystic workings of the Holy Spirit through His Spouse, the Church. For the Catholic people religion is bound up with the personality of the priest in a manner incomprehensible to those who have long lost the traditional meaning of the Church, sanctifying grace, reconciliation, intercession, public prayer, and the mystic Headship of Christ in Christian society. The life of a good priest is for Catholics a compendious proof of the theological claims of the Church. It has been so from time immemorial, and must always be, as long as the Catholic Church exists. When to the regular qualities of a worthy ecclesiastic, the priest adds other titles of personal distinction, the joy of the Catholic heart knows no bounds. He is, then, their sufficient apology before the world,—a tangible evidence of patriotism, of public mindedness, of the conversational graces, of taste and discernment, of holy and consistent altruism. In our rapid life, among so many rivalries and contentions of a religious nature, and given the tenacity of prejudice and the

density of ignorance, the lives of upright and distinguished priests act as final answers, as oracular decisions accepted by the general public, thus leaving the Church ever freer to pursue her positive spiritual purposes, instead of wasting valuable time and energy in threshing over ancient controversies and refuting ancient lies.

The presence at the University of this large delegation from one of the principal cities of our land had another significance, though not foreign to the preceding considerations. It was an affectionate and sympathetic execution of a deed noble and praiseworthy in itself. It brought the administration, teachers and students of the University into close relationship with representative Catholics, and is an earnest of the enduring interest and confidence in the University of all our Catholic people. It set a high example of how gratitude to a benefactor could best be accentuated, by making of his very name and memory a beacon light to illumine society, a fountain of inspiration and encouragement. It is ideas that govern the world, not money, not arms. Ideas are the rending dynamite of society, and whatever tends to transmit and preserve them belongs to the most powerful agencies or influences of life. Ideas are carried by teaching, chiefly, by the spoken and the written word. On the Gates of Syria are mighty engraved tablets to generations of Oriental conquerors. They say nothing to humanity, if we except the imperishable personal pride that they blazon forth. On the contrary, the features of the great jurisconsults of Rome are lost forever. But their voices resound through all time in every tribunal of human society,—a most striking example of the influence of the teaching office.

It is no small tribute to the good sense and sagacity of the Catholic people of Brooklyn that they have chosen to associate the name of their venerated friend and benefactor with the teaching work of a great school that is destined, we all hope, to render the most useful service to the cause of higher education, not alone in our country, but throughout the world. For progress is like an atmosphere, and powerful ideas are to-day borne across the face of the world with incredible rapidity, meeting everywhere the same wants, corresponding to the same

needs, and modifying in the same sense many an ancient institution. We have all the confidence that America is called by God to do a noble work in this direction. For that reason alone there will be a growing demand for Catholic priests of the type and spirit of Father Mitchell.

The visiting party, some seventy in number, was received at McMahon Hall, by the Right Rev. Rector, the Very Rev. Vice-Rector, and the professors. They were conducted to the Assembly Hall, where the gentlemen of the party were given seats on the platform, while the ladies were seated directly in front of the stage. The delegation was as follows :

Rev. William B. Farrell, Rev. Edward J. McGolrick, Rev. Thomas J. O'Brien, Richard Almiral, Dominick G. Bodkin, M. D., Mrs. Lawrence P. Bodkin, Miss Daisy Bodkin, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Byrnes, Mr. and Mrs. Felix Campbell, Patrick J. Carlin, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph W. Carroll, Miss Alice A. Cavanagh, Miss Margaret T. Clarke, Miss Eleanor G. Colgan, Mrs. Catharine Collins, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel J. Creem, Mrs. George H. Dallon, Miss Mary Deluhery, John W. Devoy, Richard Dixon, Miss Sarah E. Doherty, Edward J. Dooley, Miss Mary F. Fagan, Miss Katie Fagan, John H. Farrell, Miss Farrell, Mrs. N. B. Farrell, Mrs. Annie D. Flynn, Mrs. Philip Forrest, Francis Gottsberger, Miss Anna G. Higgins, Miss Anna Hughes, Miss Mary Hurley, Daniel Kelly, Miss Mary E. Kelly, Miss Elizabeth Keenan, Mrs. Richard Kevin, Mrs. Charles J. Maguire, Miss Mary Markey, Miss Kate McAvoy, Michael F. McGoldrick, Miss Margaret McNamara, Miss Anna M. Mitchell, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas J. Moore, Miss Jennie Naughton, Mrs. Thomas F. Nevins, Michael W. Nolan, Mrs. Catharine O'Brien, Mrs. Frances O'Mahony, Miss Annie E. O'Rourke, Mrs. Mary A. Prendergast, Miss Daisy Quay, Mrs. Ann Read, Mrs. Leonora Shea, Miss Mary Shea, Mrs. James Shevlin, Mr. and Mrs. Luke D. Stapleton, Mrs. Edwin Swift, Mr. and Mrs. John P. Taaffe, Miss Taaffe.

Joseph W. Carroll, Esq., clerk of the Surrogate Court of Brooklyn, opened the proceedings.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY JOSEPH W. CARROLL, ESQ.

"Dwellers in an imperial city, pilgrims from a flourishing diocese, through the broadened paths of yonder Washington, with reverent steps have we come into this glorious Light (the University) to lay our wreath of memory upon a consecrated tomb,

"For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer."

"Monsignor Conaty, the diocese of Brooklyn sends greeting to the Catholic University of America and presents gold to found a scholarship for the higher education of its reverend clergy, with right of nomination to its benefits in the Bishop of Brooklyn and its successors, to be known as 'The Mitchell Memorial Scholarship,' in honor of the late Reverend Doctor James H. Mitchell, one time chancellor of Brooklyn and subsequently rector of St. Stephen's Church.

"We are they who received for this noble purpose the eager and generous offerings of those who loved Father Mitchell, and through our honored Bishop have already transmitted them to you.

"We bring with us to-day Father Mitchell's likeness, which, gazing upon, your fortunate students of future years may see one who knew

"To scorn delights, and live laborious days"—

not for earthly but for heavenly fame, and gazing, may shed a prayerful tear.

"For your archives we have brought with us this modest book, in which are set down his history without comment, and why this scholarship is founded, as well as the honorable roll of those who gave to its founding. Of this book there are two other copies: one in the archives of the diocese of Brooklyn and one in the keeping of the Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society.

"Father Mitchell's name will never dim, now that it will be inscribed on the imperishable scroll of this imperishable University. His friends have shown that they knew how to do him honor for the here and the hereafter.

"The diocese of Brooklyn has added another laurel to its beauteous crown, and the Catholic University of America benignly smiles its gracious recognition of an humble effort to aid it in its God-given work.

"I have the honor to introduce Dominick G. Bodkin, Esq., M. D., of Brooklyn, who will explain more fully the object of our visit."

THE INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES
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DISCOURSE OF DOMINICK G. BODKIN, ESQ., M. D.

"RIGHT REVEREND MONSIGNOR CONATY, RECTOR OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: As I am honored, unworthily, I am sure, by the distinction of acting as eulogist on this illustrious occasion for the committee representing the Mitchell Memorial Scholarship Fund, I beg to state as an apology for my selection, that it was given to me for two reasons, the first one, chiefly I presume, because my name alphabetically suggested it, and, secondly, that a long professional acquaintance with our beloved deceased priest was considered in the canvass as somewhat of an equivalent to offset the more brilliant claims of my colleagues who are here to-day to offer testimony of their esteem for one who has been prematurely taken from us, but who will remain in our memory while breath lasts, as a man, an erudite scholar, a citizen and a priest of God,—the Rev. James H. Mitchell, deservedly honored by his alma mater with the degree of Doctor of Laws.

He was born in Astoria, Queen's County, N.Y., October 10th, 1853; graduated from Manhattan College, N. Y., class of 1874; ordained priest at Montreal, Canada, December 22d, 1877, and died at St. Stephen's Rectory, Brooklyn, N. Y., April 17th, 1898.

"During more than twenty years of his priesthood, he filled with marked distinction the positions of assistant rector of St. Patrick's Church, Montreal, Canada (1878), assistant rector of St. James' Pro-Cathedral, Brooklyn, N. Y. (1878-1892), secretary to the late Bishop Loughlin, president of the Young Men's National Union (1883-1890), rector of St. John's Chapel and Diocesan Chancellor (1892-1897), and finally rector of St. Stephen's Church, Brooklyn, until his death. He was also president of the St. James' Catholic Club, Brooklyn, vice-president of the Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society, assistant chaplain of St. Patrick's Society of Brooklyn, and trustee of the Catholic Summer School of America. We are present to-day upon a pleasant pilgrimage from the late scene of his saintly labors to offer in his name the results of our efforts to perpetuate his memory through the endowment of a scholarship in this Catholic University at Washington, an institution which our committee regards as the central sun of Catholic learning in America,—the sacred repository of its religious essence and intellectual life,—a shrine we consider as more appropriate for our purpose and as more enduring in its benefits and fruits than sculptured marble or cast of bronze, which at best would be but lifeless and barren features to honor one whose whole life meant ceaseless progress, untiring industry and sterling devotion to duty, and whose whole mind was ever

filled with the highest emotions of the soul in the pursuance of his mission as an humble priest of God,—an impulse which our committee prays may inspire through the example he has set those who may become the recipients in this University of what has been contributed and gathered in his name.

"We are here, then, to-day on a mission of love to make you custodian of what we regret is only a mite, but to pour out in abundance from warm hearts our fervent affection, respect and devotion to him, whom we knew in his early religious duties as a promising disciple of the Great Master, and whose footsteps we watched with reverential pride in the years that followed, when we saw with pardonable admiration that they unfalteringly led up to that eternal throne for which his sanctified life prepared him.

"Born of religious parents, he early imbibed feelings of piety and aspirations for the priesthood, and with manhood's years, education and experience there grew also a strong will, a clear conception of the motives and waywardness of the human heart, its passions for good or ill, a feeling of self-reliance, and yet withal that crowning attribute of all true greatness—sublime in its simplicity and illumined by his faith—a sense of dependence upon Him, "without whose help all labor is ineffectual and without whose grace all wisdom is folly," and so he arose to a position in the Church where his commanding genius and fascinating personality secured him a lasting hold on the popular heart that made him at once respected and beloved.

"In the pulpit he personified the supremacy of priestly power, where his extensive knowledge of Church history and his exquisite taste in literature, with a native wealth of language that suggested a promise of the splendid eloquence of Massillon, which only unripe years failed to fulfill; while in the confessional his advice to the young and old was so cheering, generous and ennobling that the penitent felt the influence of an unseen power and carried with him its grace and redemption to his home.

"In the outer world we saw in him as a citizen that higher type of political morality in his intercourse between man and man, and that inherent quality of self-respect ever characteristic of the patrician, a broad knowledge of public affairs in which he was deeply interested, with the evidence of a ripened judgment in their discussion that made an invariable impression on the minds of his hearers, through the grace, force and elegance of his manner that few were able to withstand.

"We are here to-day, within these classic walls, representatives of both sexes (and may God bless the ladies for their

assistance in our success!), we are here to-day to place no wreath or floral tribute on the cross that surmounts the resting-place of our dear departed priest,—all that is mortal of him lies far away in ground hallowed by his labors,—we hear no bell tolling its sad notes, reminding us that God has afflicted our community with an irreparable loss; we listen to no eloquent tongue of God's anointed, tipped with liquid silver pronouncing a panegyric, nor organ pealing out an inspiring chant for the illustrious dead—these evidences of departed worth have long since given testimony of our public loss in the sacred edifice that he adorned by his presence,—we are here to-day to offer to this University a fund to establish a scholarship in his remembrance and transmit to unborn generations our appreciation of the late Reverend Doctor James H. Mitchell, whose name we revere and whose mission among the Catholics of Brooklyn deserves such manner of distinction as our committee has selected to place in his everlasting memory. And

"Since he had the genius to be so loved, let him have the justice to be so honored in his grave."

REPLY OF THE RIGHT REVEREND RECTOR.

"REVEREND FATHERS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF BROOKLYN: It is my privilege in extending to you the sincere thanks of the University for your generous gift, to also bid you welcome to our University halls. This scholarship entitles you to a place of honor among us; in fact, it establishes a relationship by virtue of which you have the right to consider yourselves perfectly at home. Your coming here in such numbers and in so representative a body has a most important, as well as a most consoling signification. You come to establish as a memorial to a noble-hearted and much-beloved priest, the Rev. James H. Mitchell, a scholarship for the higher education of the clergy of your great diocese of Brooklyn; you come as noble pilgrims to the shrine of your ideals to place the banner of Brooklyn within these classic halls; you come to thus ally yourselves intimately with the most important educationl work of our Church in this country. Your gift thoroughly identifies you with the University; so that in the future, even more than in the past, you have a right to be considered as colaborers with us in University work. How significant your gift, how meritorious your method, how instructive your example!

"Were we to indulge in reminiscences, we might profitably look over the field of education traversed by our Church in this

country during the last one hundred years. Although the first Church to bear to this land the truths of the Gospel, in fact the Church under whose influences this land was opened to civilization, yet in the greater part of our country the Catholic Church was for a long time looked upon as a very insignificant factor in educational life. During that one hundred years, while the Church has shone in the beauty of worship, in her magnificent cathedrals, she has not failed to develop, side by side with chapel and cathedral, a well equipped parochial school system, which finds its complement in academies and colleges in which our Catholic youth have obtained the benefits of liberal education under Christian influences. Communities of religious men and women have consecrated their lives to the growth of the educational idea among the people. Faithful and devoted priests have ministered to their spiritual needs, fearlessly defending the truth and successfully winning a position of honor and respect for the Church which, in the early days of the republic, was barely tolerated.

"The time came for a step in advance. The intellectual strength of the Church sought for development in our own country along the lines of the highest study. While colleges and universities were doing excellent work, even in the field of highest endeavor, yet it seemed to the Holy Father and the bishops that the needs of the Church called for a University in these United States such as the Church had built in other lands in the olden days, and out of which has come all that the modern intellectual world has known. In their minds was a University which would stand on the mountain top, as it were, of learning, which would be the very mother of great scholars, and in which Catholic leaders of religious, intellectual and scientific thought would be trained as clerics and as laymen to aid the Church in the great battle for the supremacy of truth. It came at a moment when much of scientific thought had been striving to live without religion, at a time when many scientists asserted that reconciliation with religion was impossible. We must not lose sight of the assertion that this is an intellectual age. Its boast is in the general education of the people; but the education of the age savors of the development of the intellect without the guidance of true religion, and it seems to aim at the formation of scholarship outside of Revelation. The University, in the thought of the Church, proclaims the union of religion and science; it asserts the supremacy of God; it finds its inspiration in the Church of Christ. The University is for the people, through the men who, trained in sound philosophy and practical Catholic faith, will stand forth as the leaders in every department of life.

"To establish a university upon the lines of the grand old universities of the Middle Ages, required courage, for the Church was in large part the Church of the poor; but the conditions of our American life were becoming such as to demand that she establish her leadership in the fields of intellectual effort as she had established it in the fields of religious thought. She alone had heard the commission to teach all men all truth, and when the moment was thought opportune, under the inspiration and with the approbation of our illustrious Pontiff, Leo XIII, the foundations of our University were established.

"The circumstances of the Church in the United States were in many respects most favorable for such an undertaking; for here, thank God, exists a most intimate union between the people and the clergy; an union, which is the honor, as it is also the strength of the Catholics of the United States. The dignity, virtue and knowledge of the clergy are the pride and glory of the people, and the fidelity and devotion of the people form the glory and crown of the clergy, and these are characteristics of the spirit of the Church. This spirit is manifested in a special manner with regard to education,—your presence here to-day is a new manifestation of this same spirit. Read the history of the Church, in education, and you will find that in all times the clergy instructed the people, not only in the truths of revealed religion, but also in the natural sciences, in philosophy, in letters; indeed the clergy have taught everything, even entering into the fields of medicine. They established schools of all kinds, primary and secondary; they developed the intelligence of all classes among the people, and the rich and the poor alike have been recipients of their favor. In the work of education, popes, bishops, priests, monks and nuns have rivalled one another in establishing means of public instruction and devoting their lives to the ideals of education.

"On the other hand, the people have always co-operated with the clergy in the work of education. They have founded, or contributed to found, the universities, seminaries and schools. They have established scholarships in favor of poor clerics. Among the laymen you will find men who have not only honored the Church and science in cultivating profane knowledge, but many have even rendered services to the Church by their labors in sacred science. It is sufficient to recall to your minds that the man whose name is associated with the Christian archæology of our day, is a Catholic layman, De Rossi. The first idea of the establishment of the Propaganda is said by some to have come from a layman, John Vendeville, who also took a prominent part in the establishment of the theological

school at Douay. This action of the people in education has assumed different forms, according to different epochs. In our day, the form most generally followed, and in fact admirably adapted to our times, is that of association, by which a great work becomes the work of the many instead of the few.

"By his Apostolic Letters, Pope Leo XIII. called in a special manner upon the Catholic laity of the United States to aid in the establishment of this University, and Catholic men and women gave generously of their wealth to the bishops to lay the foundations of this institution, which is now the glory and the pride of our Church and nation. Let us not forget that the Church merits her title as the most progressive of all organizations. Her cry is Excelsior, her banner is truth, and she is never satisfied until the truth of Christ is firmly entrenched in the minds and hearts of men.

"It seems but yesterday since the University was planted. It has sprung into life as if by magic and with the strength of a giant, to do for America what the Catholic Universities of the past have done for the world. The University's first step was in the higher education of the clerics. The Church has always fostered the highest ideals in the education of her clergy. We even see in the old councils provisions made by which clerics could hold their benefices while pursuing advanced courses of study. Other councils tell us of the encouragement given to bishops to keep a certain number of clerics in universities for preparation for the needs of the Church. Indeed it was in this way that many eminent clerics were educated. Those great English universities of Oxford and Cambridge manifest peculiar strength, but men lose sight of the fact that much of that strength comes from fellowships and other endowments established by Catholics in old Catholic times. In France there exists a society of priests and laymen, through which travelling scholarships are given to young priests. Among the learned clergy of Germany, a large portion comes from Catholic theological faculties, which are the admiration of the episcopate and clergy of Germany. The noble French episcopate of the seventeenth century, in their general assemblies, encouraged higher education among priests and laymen, and such learned laymen as Valois and Baluze owed much to this encouragement. The glory of the Church in the seventeenth century was in her clerics, who were foremost in history and archæology, in the history of institutions and the publication of documents. We recall, especially, the Jesuit Bollandists and the Benedictines. During those days great numbers of scholarly Catholic priests were found in Germany, France and Italy, so that the seventeenth century might well be called the renascence of Catholic learning.

Indeed, the names of Bossuet, Massillon, Fenelon and Bourdaloue, are yet synonyms of priestly erudition.

"When the education of the clergy was provided for in the magnificent Caldwell Hall of Divinity, the gift of a noble-hearted Catholic lady, the University gave its attention to the higher education of the laity, and this splendid McMahon Hall, the gift of a pious and devoted priest, opened its doors. The schools of philosophy, science, letters and law attest the earnestness of the University for the higher education of our Catholic laymen. In the University a taste for all science is developed, and the interdependence of one science upon the other, and of all upon religion is made manifest. It aims to form scholarship, it leads to erudition.

"You, then, representatives of Brooklyn, with pride in your Bishop and clergy, in the spirit of education which pervades your great city, with honor for the Church of which you are so prominent a part, you follow the traditions of the Church, you give a magnificent example to the country in honoring the memory of a priest who was devoted to all your interests, and by this memorial you desire to coöperate under the inspiration of his name in the formation of a learned priesthood. The Rev. James H. Mitchell Scholarship will now take its place among the endowments of this University.

"Father Mitchell was a priest whom we all respected; a man of brilliant talents, of sacerdotal zeal, and of inspiring devotion to the interests of the Church and of his diocese. He was a leader among men, whose ambition was to fit himself thoroughly for the work of the priesthood in our American life; a scholar whose name is an inspiration to us all. I knew him as a friend; I respected and loved him. I had his word of cheer in all my undertakings. His unselfish friendship never knew the pettiness of jealousy. His heart beat warmly for this University, his efforts were pledged for its success. You have interpreted his most cherished hopes. His name is now to be forever associated with the University in the work for the higher education of the clergy of the diocese he loved. He labored earnestly and successfully for the union of clergy and people, and by your generous gift you emphasize that trait of his character which led him to aid every movement for the intellectual improvement of all, and which led him to feel that the life-giving source must be in your Catholic University, which has been established by the clergy and the laity, and which must be sustained and developed by the united efforts of the clergy and the laity.

"We congratulate you and thank you for your noble deed. Brooklyn is proud of its bishop and its clergy, proud of its educational prominence, and proud of its beloved Father Mit-

chell, whose name and deeds shall long live in the hearts of a devoted people.

"In the name, then, of the trustees, instructors, students and friends of the University I gratefully accept your gift, and thank you for this act of generosity, by which you publicly attest your confidence in the University, and give to the country an example of unselfishness and true Catholic devotion to education."

We append, in the order of their foundation, the list of theological scholarships established in the University:

1. By Messrs. Benziger, of New York:
   One Scholarship for the Archdiocese of New York.
2. By Duke Joseph de Loubat, of New York:
   One Scholarship for the Archdiocese of New York.
3. By Michael Jenkins, Esq., of Baltimore:
   One Scholarship for the Archdiocese of Baltimore.
4. By Miss Emily Harper, of Baltimore:
   One Scholarship at the disposal of the University.

5–6. By Charles L. Routt, Esq., of Alton, Ill.:
   Two Scholarships for the Diocese of Alton.

7. By Rev. W. A. Nolan, of Butler, Pa.:
   One Scholarship for the Diocese of Pittsburg.
8. By Rev. Dwight Lyman, of Govanstown, Md.:
   One Scholarship for the Archdiocese of Baltimore.
9. By Miss Winifred Martin, of Baltimore, Md.:
   One Scholarship for the Archdiocese of Baltimore.
10. By Rev. P. J. Lavin, of Necedah, Wis.:
    One Scholarship for the Archdiocese of Milwaukee.
11. By Rev. Thomas Carroll, Oil City, Pa.:
    One Scholarship for the Diocese of Erie.
12. By Catholic priests and laymen of the Diocese of Brooklyn:
    One Scholarship for the Diocese of Brooklyn, to be known as "the Rev. James H. Mitchell Memorial Scholarship."
13. By the Marquise des Monstiers de Merinville (née Mary Gwendoline Caldwell):
    One Scholarship for the Diocese of Peoria, to be known as the "Waldemar Conrad Baron von Zedtwitz Scholarship."

FOUNDERS' DAY AT THE UNIVERSITY.

The Marquis and Marquise des Monstiers de Merinville, accompanied by Mrs. Donnelly, the aunt of the Marquise, were the guests of the University Sunday, October 30. It is eight years since Mary Gwendoline Caldwell, now the Marquise de Merinville, visited the University, and it was the first visit of her husband. The Caldwell Hall of Divinity owes its existence to this lady's munificent gift of $300,000, which encouraged the bishops of the country to lay the foundation-stone of the University. Naturally the visit of such distinguished people, who have contributed so largely to the establishment of the University, was the occasion of great rejoicing. Solemn High Mass was celebrated at 10 o'clock, and the illustrious guests occupied places of honor All the professors and students of the University were present. Among the visitors was the Very Rev. George Deshon, C. S. P., Superior of the Paulists. Mgr. Conaty preached the sermon, in the course of which he spoke as follows:

ADDRESS OF WELCOME BY THE RIGHT REV. RECTOR.

"I think I voice the sentiments of all in saying that the heart of the University is filled with joy to-day for having in our midst one of the founders, in fact the first founder of this University. In this building, the gift of her munificence, and in this chapel, a memorial from her sister to the memory of beloved parents, it is well for us before the altar of that chapel and in the presence of the University professors and students, to thank Almighty God for the inspiration which prompted the gift by which the foundations of this University were laid.

"It must be a consolation to her after years of absence to visit this place of her generosity, and see that the talent that was given has not been hidden in the napkin, but has been multiplied, as is evident in all that may seen about us. It is a consolation to her distinguished husband, whose family has been linked for so many centuries with the best traditions of Catholic France, to be here and witness the manifestations of the strong Catholic faith of this great Republic. Indeed, it is a moment for both to thank God for the blessings that have come upon the work of her hands. In the Prophet

Daniel, 12th chapter, we find it said that "those who instruct others unto justice shall shine as stars for all eternity." If that be the promise of God to simple instruction, how much more bountiful must be His promise to those by whose gifts leaders of the great Church of God are formed, and by force of whose power and influence the great truth of God is made to establish itself in the minds and hearts of men. This University, the outgrowth of our distinguished guest's gift, came to enable the Church and Republic to do its great work. She knew better than many that there was need of a great institution in which the clergy and laity might be educated according to the highest demands of the times; she had faith in God and believed in the future of the University. She knows as well as anyone the difficulties and trials through which the University has had to pass to reach its present prosperous condition. But following the traditions of the Church, following the example of the noble men and women who have laid the foundations of other great schools, and trusting in God who had given to her the wealth which she was willing to share with Him, and with a clear perception of the needs of the Church, she established the foundations of this institution.

"Well, then, does it become us before the altar of God, in this Divinity building, to bid her welcome among us. We have long looked for her coming, that she might see the evidences of her work and rejoice in the good that was being done, that she might feel that what she laid here as a foundation has broadened itself into magnificent buildings in which not merely the clergy, in whom her first interest lay, but also the Catholic laity, were to have the opportunities for higher education in all professions of life. It is our peculiar privilege to honor those who began this work. We all know that it is the first step that costs, and that consequently great praise is due the founders. We bid you, then, distinguished Founder of this Divinity building, welcome among us to-day, and in the gratitude of our hearts we thank God who in his Providence raised you up to be the instrument of His goodness to the Church in education, in these United States. We beg God to bless you for having lent your strong arm to the work of the Church in this country of your love. We know the difficulties with which the Church has to contend against non-Catholic schools and universities with unlimited means, reaching out for the supremacy of mind. You have reason to be grateful to Almighty God that your work has been so abundantly blessed, and we, the recipients of your gifts, can never sufficiently thank God for the goodness which He has bestowed upon us through you. Throughout this country more than two hun-

dred priests to-day, many holding university degrees, occupying places of honor in parish and college life, have to thank you for the opportunity placed by you within their reach for the higher education which this University has offered them.

"We beg God to bless you, we beg Him to bless you unto many years, and we pray that we may always be faithful to the aims and purposes of this University, to its vocation in our church life and in our American educational life, that we may always strive to keep it up to the high ideals which were placed before it, when under the inspiration of God you made your gifts to the Bishops of the Plenary Council.

"May God bless you and your distinguished husband and bless all your interests. May you always feel that here forever and forever as long as the Church of God does its work in this country, your work shall go on leading souls to justice and forming leaders of people both in Church and State who will fight the battles of the Church for the supremacy of truth.',

After the Mass, the Marquis and Marquise held a reception in the parlors of Caldwell Hall for the Faculties and Divinity School students. The occasion was made memorable by the presentation to the Marquise of a set of beautiful diamonds by Mgr. McMahon. The Rector entertained his visitors at dinner, to which the Deans of the Faculties were invited. The Marquise visited all parts of the Divinity building, and expressed herself as delighted with the progress of the work.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Divinity of Christ from Pascal. A commentary, by William Bullen Morris, of the Oratory. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898.

From Dante to Pasteur a long line of witnesses to Christ's divinity stretches out before the gaze of the enquiring student. This work presents a list of twenty-eight men of recognized genius,—poets, literateurs and physical scientists mainly,—have expressed their belief in the Son of God, sweetly and strongly. Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Chaucer, Milton, Cervantes, Shakespeare, and Johnson; Copernicus, Bacon, Galileo, Tycho Brahé, Kepler, Harvey, Newton and Cuvier; Descartes, Locke and Leibnitz, together with many others, are to be found in this muster-roll of names. They were not religious writers professedly, and their testimony cannot therefore be rejected on the plea that they were churchmen first and philosophers afterward. They were mostly laymen, and not theologians.

The layman's influence on religious thought may readily be appreciated in our own time by a consideration of the writings of Gladstone and Balfour. The English mind is so constituted that a lay sermon from a statesman or scientist strikes it as a new evangel. Its incredulity is helped by such men among their fellows as have seen their way clear to Christ in the midst of doubt, skepticism and gloom, the common heritage of, alas! too many in our day. Doubt sets all afloat, and men are but too glad to seize upon the welcome anchorage pointed out by those who have drifted listlessly for years and have at last found moorings.

Naturally the layman's point of view in theology is attended with much misgiving. Neither by study nor by training is he fitted to grapple with the problems of the religious mental life. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam.* Yet is his point of view an interesting illuminant in that it shows how many are the ways to the conclusions which the eye of faith sees locked up in Christian principles. Nay, more: the expression of

faith in Christ not being confined to monastic cloisters, but coming from the scientist and the philosopher, as well as from representative men in all the walks of life, simply goes to show that a little science leadeth away from God, but much science leadeth us all irrespectively towards Him. And although in these manifestations of the layman's faith there is not a little admixture of individual conceit betimes, his religious averments are proof evident that belief is not the monopoly of a few unsophisticated devotees, but the rational outcome of reflection on the history of philosophy and the result of a larger and fuller knowledge of things visible. True wisdom absorbs all truth and makes all truth its own. It rejects only what is hostile to Jesus Christ. The absorption of pagan wisdom and its incorporation as a rational framework behind belief, lay at the heart of all Christian philosophizing from the beginning. As the Israelites carried away the vases of the Egyptians, so, says St. Bonaventure,[1] the doctor of theology should appropriate the wisdom of the philosophers. An idea somewhat similar to this, we take it, led the author of this little volume to call upon so strong a witness as Pascal to make known his testimony to the Light. In fact, the author's life is itself a record of constant progress made from doubt and misbelief to certainty and faith. He evidently knows how to appreciate Pascal's profundities and to weave a lesson out of them that might prove useful to those of his fellows who still make a "tabula rasa" of the past in order to have a good start in their methodical doubting.

The first chapter deals with Pascal's way to belief, and is a short study of the many and varied elements that went to make up the keen mind of this remarkable Frenchman. The second chapter unfolds Pascal's views on the abiding testimony of the Jews to Christ. The third descants upon the prophecies, while the fourth is a warm presentation of the character of Christ as embodied in Pascal's writings. The last chapter of this little volume is concerned with the "new unbelief" and points the moral of the author's work. In it the able Oratorian institutes a comparison of Pascal with Kant, Schopenhauer and Carlyle; explains most clearly that mistiness is not the mother

[1] Opusculum De Tribus Quaestionibus ad Magistrum innominatum.

of wisdom, and shows from a very interesting list of well-known savants that the majority of scientists are on the side of belief and that the pretensions of the New Philosophy are agents in its destruction.

Despite the brevity which characterizes the author's treatment of many of the topics, the entire volume is a clear and useful presentation of the great geometrician's abiding faith in Christ as well as of his power still to point out the way to those of his fellows upon whom his scientific mantle has fallen, unfortunately without the religious warmth which Pascal himself felt beneath its folds.

New Testament Studies, by Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, D. D. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. 8°, pp. 282; 60 cents.

The author was prompted to undertake this work by the encyclical of the Holy Father on the "Study of the Holy Scripture." The book is not an attempt at a scientific treatise of the Gospels; the author plainly disowns any such purpose. Without pretending to the learning of the specialist in Biblical lore, the writer has given an illustration of what a practical man may do to meet the demands of the day. The book is intended as a help to teachers in their efforts to give to the more advanced pupils of our Catholic schools such a knowledge of the Gospels as will, in a way, fit them to answer many of the demands made upon them. The work was written before the author became Rector of the Catholic University and while he was yet pastor of a city parish, where the needs of the children seemed to demand some effort of this kind. It was originally published in the form of detached leaflets and distributed to the pupils of a parochial Bible class. At the suggestion of some bishops and of many pastors and teachers he has consented to its publication in a form better suited to the purposes of a text-book for the work of the classroom.

The method is generally catechetical. First, there is a text from one of the Gospels, to be committed to memory; then follows a moral lesson based on this text; afterward portions of the Gospels,—to be read and studied by the pupil,—are explained catechetically by the author, so that the meaning

may be brought out and more deeply impressed. One great need felt specially in the instruction given to the more advanced pupils in our schools is the direct study of the Bible text itself. This little volume is an attempt to satisfy this demand. The book contains, scattered here and there, a number of very interesting "Bible Talks," topics connected with the study of Holy Scripture. They treat of such subjects as the "Inspiration," the "Interpretation," and the "Authority of the Bible," the "Bible and Tradition," the "Bible and the Church," the "Bible and Science," the "Bible and the People, "Bible Geography," "Bible Customs," and the like.

Another feature of the book is that it gives the more salient outlines of the life of Our Lord. It leads the pupil from one event in His life to another; it describes the scenes of His earthly career, generally in the graphic, yet simple language of the gospels themselves, and it paints in broad outlines the environment in which He lived. The whole matter is arranged under distinct rubrics, such as the Infancy, the Youth, the Public Life of Our Lord. Hand in hand with this little manual the New Testament should be used for reference, for memory work, and for simple reading.

This manual has a merit of its own; it is the result of personal experience extending over a long period of years in the practical work of teaching Christian doctrine, a fact that shows itself in the arrangement of the lessons, and in the variety of the materials. The chapters are short, the questions are pointed, the answers are clear, the language is simple, and the author never allows himself to forget that he is writing for children. Directness and singleness characterize the method of this volume. The author wastes neither time nor energy in pursuing side-issues that would only distract the attention of the youthful pupil away from the matter in hand. At the end of the volume are three maps of Palestine and some of the adjacent Bible lands; also a biblical dictionary adapted for this special work, in which the reader may find the pronuncia tion and definition of many scriptural names of persons and places.

It is a bright and cheerful book, the paper is strong and

firm, the type is remarkably clear and clean cut, the binding tasty, and the pages enlivened by numerous wood-cuts.

This book has received considerable criticism, much of it very kind and flattering in tone,—all of it, we do not doubt, inspired by a just zeal for the purity of Christian teaching. We feel certain that all apposite suggestions and corrections will be noted, and that in a future edition this work will rise to a still higher degree of perfection.

It is well to remember that there is a great lack of Catholic scriptural works in the English language, especially of works of a primary character. Dr. Conaty's work is therefore somewhat of a pioneer in an untravelled country. Slips of the pen, imperfections of detail, crudities of execution, faults of method, there will naturally be. While the number of those who consider themselves competent critics of such primary manuals is very great, it is remarkable that so few among us have undertaken to furnish Catholic youth with model manuals or catechisms of the scriptural text. Who can indicate to-day an English Catholic Introduction to Scripture comparable for academic or pedagogical value to the fairly numerous manuals prepared by non-Catholic hands? It is as easy to criticise a good and serviceable catechism in any branch as it is difficult to construct a perfect one. It is morally impossible to expect the highest attainable degree of perfection in such works when they appear for the first time. Nevertheless it is only just that attention should be called, publicly if necessary, or privately, to any defect in such a manual. The only purpose of the author must have been the unselfish and elevated one of doing good to the little ones of Christ. As far as we have seen, no fault has been found with the doctrine of the work. More than one criticism has been made of the illustrations, criticisms that we think fully justified. There is only one reason,—the reason of expense,—for not providing such works with the best illustrations of the instructive monuments of the New Testament times, as well as of topographical scenes and details. We hope that in some future edition this demand will be satisfied, so that our children may share in the new and definite archæological and topograpical knowledge of Palestine and its monuments.

Genesis and Science, by John Smyth. New York: Benziger, 1898.

In this little book of eighty-seven pages, the author attempts to prove that the Mosaic account of the creation is, in its great outlines, historically true and in absolute harmony with the accredited teachings of astronomy and geology. Having thus persuaded himself that the progressive work of the six days of Genesis is substantially identical with what has been laid bare by scientific research, he concludes that the writer who could anticipate by more than thirty centuries the chief discoveries of astronomy and geology, must have been divinely illuminated.

Such is in a nutshell the argument of the book. It is the argument of all idealistic concordists since the days of Luthardt. It is in the details of the argument that the author under review differs from his predecessors, and it is just here that he lays himself open to severe criticism.

With the aid of the theory of La Place, it is easy to see how cosmic light could precede the existence of the sun. But the great crux of concordists is to explain satisfactorily how the making of the sun, moon, and stars was assigned in the Mosaic narrative to the fourth day, ages after the earth was formed, even long subsequent to the luxuriant growth of plants and trees, the production of which is represented in Genesis I, 2, as accomplished on the third day.

That the moon came into being before the earth is a necessary admission for any one who accepts the La Place theory. Our author practically admits the existence of the sun on the first day, for he explains the dividing of the light from the darkness (v. 4) by the falling of the feeble rays of the incipient sun upon the mist-enshrouded earth, thus forming light and shadow, day and night (p. 26). Why, then, did Moses speak as if the sun, moon, and stars had no existence till the fourth day—that is, till innumerable ages afterward? Because, the author tells us, it was the inspired method of description to deal only with finished phenomena (p. 37). Now, the sun at the early period, when day and night began their changes on the earth, gave out only a feeble and unsteady radiance, owing to the widely diffused state of its mass. The moon, too, de-

pending on the sun's light for its brightness, could scarcely, if at all, be visible. It was only after a slow process, involving an immense lapse of time, that the sun, moon, and stars attained to anything like their present brilliancy and effulgence. This was long after vegetation had sprung up and covered the earth, and was hence appropriately assigned by the inspired writer to the fourth day. To quote the author's words: "The time occupied in reducing such a widely diffused mass of burning elements to a putty-like state must have extended over so many ages that the plants and trees composing the carboniferous strata may have flourished luxuriously on the margins of shallow seas long before the sun deserved the name of a great light" (p. 40).

Waiving the question whether such an explanation fits the inspired statement that on the fourth day "God made two great lights, and set them in the firmament of heaven," the reader naturally asks himself on what grounds does the author base his assertions that Moses concerned himself only with finished phenomena, and that the sun did not contract to its proper form and efficiency till long after the carboniferous age? The only proof offered by the author is his own assertion, which, in the eyes of many, will not appear sufficient. But to increase the gravity of the difficulty, the author is not at all consistent with himself, for on page 67 he identifies the fifth day of Genesis with the Silurian and Devonian ages, when the seas swarmed with manifold forms of animal life. The sun, then, belonging to the fourth day, must have been active ages before, that is, in the lower Silurian or Primordial period, in other words, long before any solid evidence of highly organized vegetation appeared in geological strata.

The fact is, if science has anything to say about the order of creation it teaches that sunlight preceded the growth of higher vegetation; that life originated in the seas, and not on land; that the development of animal and vegetable forms went on hand in hand; that birds came into existence long after fishes, at the same time with land mammals and the higher fruit trees. It is the recognition of such facts and of their irreconcilability with the first chapter of Genesis that has led many sincere Christian scholars to see in the Mosaic account

something else than an historic narrative anticipating the triumphs of modern science.

It is astonishing that an author at this late day should attempt to speak to us in the name of science without making sure of his ground by a constant appeal to indisputable authorities. Yet from the beginning to the end of this book there is not a reference to be found. We regret this, for it would be very interesting to know on what authorities he bases the statements that the sun has long since settled into a putty-like consistency (pp. 38–40); that its maximum brightness was not reached till after the glacial epoch (p. 42); that foraminifera belong to the vegetable kingdom (p. 46); that the earliest plants grew in the North Polar regions (p. 50).

The weakness of all concordist explanations of Genesis I. is that they lay themselves open to the charge of being based on anachronisms. Concordists read into the inspired text in the most arbitrary manner views of modern science that were entirely foreign to the crude age of the writer, and that he cannot be proved to have possessed himself. To base his marvellous insight into modern scientific discoveries on a series of unproved assumptions and then deduce the consequence that he must needs have been enlightened from above, is a method of argumentation that will hardly stand the light of modern criticism.

The Science of Political Economy, by Henry George; New York: Doubleday & McClure. 1898. 8°.

For some time before Henry George's death it was known that he was at work on a treatise on political economy, and when death gave such a sudden and dramatic culmination to his career, a year ago, it was feared that the work was in such an unfinished state that it would be of little value. Much to the gratification of his admirers, the executors of Mr. George announced soon after his death that the work on political economy had been left practically complete, and would soon be given to the public. It could not even wait, it seemed, to be clothed in book-garb, as became its dignity; but with what might almost be called indecent haste, it was hurried into print as a serial in the Sunday papers, and, set off with flaring

headlines, it divided the honors of the first page with select murder stories and choice scandals from high life. It seemed as though Mr. George's disciples were, after all, men of little faith, and were fearful that the written word,—the argument that was to endure,—would lose potency if it appeared too late to be read while the spell of the author's death was still upon us.

The work has now been given to the public in book form, as a volume in a new and uniform edition of George's writings. It bears the title of "The Science of Political Economy," and professes to cover the whole field of that science. In the opinion of its author, political economy had gone entirely and hopelessly wrong, because of the incompetency, the timidity, and the dishonesty of its builders; and he sets out to construct anew the science.

In the general introduction, after pointing out the immense importance of the science of political economy, Mr. George tells us that after a century of development it is to-day in hopeless chaos, and that even its first principles have not yet been grasped. Nevertheless, he goes on to assure the reader, the science is really a very simple one, and not at all so complex as these results would lead us to believe. "There is in it," he says, "nothing to discourage the hope that he who will use his own reason in the honest search for truth may attain firm and clear conclusions." It is "the science which the ordinary man may most easily study. It requires no tools, no apparatus, no special learning. The phenomena which it investigates need not be sought for in laboratories or libraries; they lie about us, and are constantly thrust upon us. The principles on which it builds are truths of which we are all conscious, and on which in every-day matters we constantly base our reasoning and our actions. And its processes, which consist mainly in analysis, require only care in distinguishing what is essential from what is merely accidental."

To the trustful one, who has perhaps wrestled long and earnestly with some of the complex problems of political economy, these sentences come as a balm-laden zephyr to a wearied soul. He sets out with simple faith and reviving spirits to follow the new guide who can lead him straight to

the land of promise and spare him the long wanderings in the desert. He reads that the question "whether protection or free trade is most conducive to prosperity" is one which "in political economy ought to be capable of as certain an answer as in hydrodynamics the question whether a ship ought to be broader than she is long, or longer than she is broad," and he is eager for the day when he, too, will thus see things in their essential simplicity.

As a conclusion to the general introduction, Mr. George then invites his reader to make a "beginning at the beginnings," and to go "deeper than writers on political economy usually do," assuring him that there shall be no "wandering from the subject."

Mr. George keeps his promise, and begins at the beginnings, very much as Knickerbocker began his "History of New York," with the creation of the world,—only, Mr. George takes himself seriously, his humor is unconscious. His first chapter is so typical of much that follows that the two pages comprising it are here quoted in full:

The word "factor," in commercial use, means one who acts as agent for another. In mathematical use, it means one of the quantities which, multiplied together, form a product. Hence in philosophy, which may be defined as the search for the nature and relations of things, the word "factor" affords a fit term for the elements which bring about a result, or the categories into which analysis enables us to classify these elements.

In the world—I use the term in its philosophic sense of the aggregate or system of things of which we are cognizant and of which we ourselves are part—we are enabled by analysis to distinguish three elements or factors:

1. That which feels, perceives, thinks, wills; which to distinguish, we call mind or soul or spirit.

2. That which has a mass or weight, and extension or form; which to distinguish, we call matter.

3. That which acting in matter produces movement; which to distinguish, we call motion or force or energy.

We cannot, in truth, directly recognize energy apart from matter; nor matter without some manifestation of energy; nor mind or spirit unconjoined with matter and motion. For though our own consciousness may testify to our own essentially spiritual nature, or even at times to what we take to be

direct evidence of pure spiritual existence, yet consciousness itself begins with us only after bodily life has begun, and memory, by which alone we can recall past consciousness, is later still in appearing. It may be that what we call matter is but a form of energy; and it may be perhaps that what we call energy is but a manifestation of what we call mind or soul or spirit; and some have even held that from matter and its inherent powers all else originates. Yet though they may not be in fact separable by us, and though it may be that at bottom they are one, we are compelled in thought to distinguish these three as independent, separable elements, which in their actions and reactions make up the world as it is presented to our perception.

Of these, from our standpoint, that which feels, perceives, thinks, wills, comes first in order of priority, for it is this which is first in our own consciousness, and it is only through this that we have consciousness of any other existence. In this, as our own consciousness testifies, is the initiation of all our own motions or movements, so far as consciousness and memory shed light; and in all cases in which we can trace the genesis of anything to its beginning we find that beginning in thought and will. So clear, so indisputable is the priority of this spiritual element that wherever and whenever men have sought to account for the origin of the world they have always been driven to assume a great spirit or God. For though there be atheistic theories, they always avoid the question of origin, and assume the world always to have been.

We can easily imagine the mental state of the reader, who, guiltless of "special learning," sets out gaily to master a simple science, the phenomena of which, he is assured, are easily comprehended and analyzed; and who, in the first chapter, comes upon the categories of matter, spirit, force, energy, and reads that these "in their actions and reactions make up the world as it is presented to our perception,"—all of which he has been told, is essential for him to grasp, if he is to understand the true science of political economy. And we can easily predict what is going to be the condition of the guileless disciple of a master, who, with charming assurance and fascinating glibness discusses fundamental philosophic concepts with an inaccuracy that is startling. In his introduction Mr. George gives up over two pages to insistence upon precision in the use of words, and in the very first page of his book itself

we find him making "mass" and "weight" synonymous; assuming that motion, force, and energy, are identical, and delivering himself of the profound statement that, "motion" is "that which acting on matter produces movement." There is here betrayed a degree of ignorance of either the things themselves, or the correct terms by which to designate them, that would reflect discredit upon a high school student of physics—and that is unpardonable in a man who sets himself up as a philosopher.

In the seventy-five succeeding pages, Mr. George loses no opportunities to drag in mooted problems of general philosophy. He discusses the question of what constitutes real civilization, tries to study the nature of consciousness, plunges into the principle of causation, defends the theory of the conservation of energy, rejects the current theory of the origin of species, denies spontaneous generation, and insists on the necessity of the notion of God the creator. All this must prove very annoying to the reader, who was assured in the introduction that all he would have to do to understand clearly and thoroughly the science of political economy would be to analyze carefully phenomena that "lie about us, and are constantly thrust upon us," using "care in distinguishing what is essential from what is merely accidental." It was to require only the intelligence and reason of the "ordinary man." Forgetting this, Mr. George, on page 78, confides to his reader that it is essential for him to go into "deep problems of being and genesis, where the light of reason seems to fail us and twilight deepens into dark." Otherwise he cannot hope to master the principles of political economy.

Finally, when he comes to discuss the law of diminishing returns, Mr. George outdoes himself. He asserts on page 334 that his "purpose in this work is to explain the science of political economy so clearly that it may be understood by any one of common ability, who will give to it reasonable attention;" and immediately he goes on to say that "to clear the ground for a coherent political economy, it is necessary to fix the real meaning of two conceptions which belong to metaphysics. . . . These conceptions are those of time and space." Over thirty pages of discussion of these concepts,

then, have to be digested before, according to the author, the student can understand the simple law of diminishing returns. Mr. George explains to his own complete satisfaction just what space and time mean, and then assures his reader that Kant, and all the philosophers since or before him, "who profess to treat space and time as mere conditions of human perception," are "mere jugglers with words." If the author did not himself assure us that all this was very necessary to the understanding of political economy, the charitable reader would probably assume that Mr. George had before his death been engaged in two works,—one reconstructing political economy, and the other recasting philosophy in general,—and that the printer had mixed the manuscripts.

In the matter of method and of logic the book is equally disappointing. For example, to show the confusion existing in "accredited economic treatises" at the present time, Mr. George gives us a single citation, and that not from any "accredited economic treatise" of to-day, but from an ephemeral primer of twenty years ago (p. 63). When he sets out to show us the false principle that has been adopted as the foundation of political economy, he calmly tells us that he will "not stop to quote from the accredited writers on the subject," but proceeds to quote from Buckle (p. 89). Again, he devotes a whole chapter to telling us what it was precisely that the *Physiocrats* meant, and assures us that no English author seems to have understood them, although he himself could not read one line of their original writings, nor even procure translations. His knowledge of them is derived, at second hand, from mere *paraphrases* or *condensations*, which at best can show only what certain English writers *think* the physiocrats meant. Still again, before he begins his discussion of method, he essays to tell us something of the methods of the two opposing schools of economists, and to do this he quotes the estimate of an obscure writer, in a second-rate encyclopedia printed in 1861. It is to be doubted if Mr. George had ever read the scholarly discussions of method by Marshall, or Cairnes, or Keynes, or Sidgwick. His ignorance of the literature of his subject comes out very plainly in every chapter of his work, but nowhere, perhaps, more prominently

than in his absurd explanation of the mercantile system. An hour or two devoted to reading Schmuller's superb study of mercantilism would have given Mr. George some very valuable ideas. Such slipshod method as is betrayed throughout this book would discredit utterly any writer who addressed himself to intelligent and trained readers.

Recklessness of statement and absurd logic seem to characterize this whole work. We are told that "unless we know what wealth is, how possibly can we hope to discover how it is procured and distributed"; and again, that "failure to define its subject-matter or object-noun must be fatal to any attempted science (p. 127). And yet we admit a science of biology, though it can not define life; and a science of psychology, though it can not define mind; and a science of physics and chemistry, though it can not define energy or matter. On page 129 we read, "the laws which govern the relations of exchangeable quantities are such laws as $2+2=4$; $4-1=3$; $2\times4=8$; $4\div2=2$; and their extensions." Will the farmer who to-day exchanges his bushel of wheat for $1.00 and to-morrow for only 50 cents, be persuaded that the laws of exchange are any such simple things.

On page 218 he seriously informs us that the Austrian School "setting aside all distinction between value in use and value in exchange, makes value without distinction an expression of the intensity of desire." One is tempted to believe after reading this, that Mr. George has never read a line of the "Austrian School," for it sets aside the old terminology of value in use and value in exchange, only to make a clearer distinction into subjective and objective value.

But the most astonishing part of this astonishing book is that in which its author insists that it was "Progress and Poverty" that overturned the orthodox or classical school of political economy. Years before "Progress and Poverty" had been conceived, the movement that was to overthrow the English school of political economy, had begun in Germany. It grew in force, and culminated after the appearance of Mr. George's book. Profoundly ignorant, as he was, of all the literature of economic science, except such as was in English, and of all the phases of economic thought not then reflected, Mr. George in

his later days unconsciously plays the rôle of the fly on the carriage wheel, and says "my! what a dust I make!"

When this work of George first appeared in the newspapers, his truest friends and most level-headed admirers must have deplored its ever having been given to the public, and must have prayed that it might be allowed to pass into oblivion in the ephemeral form in which it then stood. This would have been a devout and thoroughly sensible wish.

The work adds nothing whatever to our knowledge of economic science; it adds less than nothing to the prestige of its author. The strength, the lucidity, the coherence that marked "Progress and Poverty" are conspicuously lacking, and in their place we have only weakness, vagueness and incoherency. It is almost a sin against the memory of Henry George to have permitted these ramblings of his failing years to be given to the reading world, and those of us who knew him once as a clear and vigorous thinker, who admired him as a pure and noble character, and who regarded his memory as a superb legacy to his fellow-Americans, can only read this last work with the keenest regret, and refuse to believe that by it rather than by an earlier work is he to be remembered.

L'année sociologique. Emile Durkheim. Paris: Alcan, 1898, pp. 563. Price, 10 francs.

Professor Durkheim gives us in this work the first number of an annual which he has just founded, with the assistance of a number of well-known sociologists. The object of the work, as explained in the preface, is to collect the results of research in all lines of knowledge as far as they are of service to the sociologist; to bring about a *rapprochement* between history and sociology, and to present careful analyses of current sociological works. In addition, some original studies will be published. The volume before us contains two such studies; "La prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," and "Comment les formès sociales se maintiennent," the former by Durkheim, the latter by Simmel.

The analyses of works and bibliographical notes are arranged under the following headings: General Sociology (philosophical, biological, psychological); Religious Sociology

(General Treatises, primitive religions, domestic cult, beliefs and practices regarding the dead, popular cults in general, the ritual, myths, organization of worship, the great religions in general); Moral and Juridical Sociology (General Theories of Right and Morals, objective studies of customs, family, marriage, punishment, social organization, right of property); Criminal Sociology (moral statistics, criminal anthropology); Economic Sociology (Economic Theories, professional associations, history of labor, commercial evolution); Anthropo-sociology.

Ethik. Friederich Brandscheid. Wiesbaden: Gustav Quiel, 1895, pp. 183.

This work professes to be a scientific treatise on Ethics, based largely on Cicero's De Officiis. The failure of the higher classes to realize their responsibility seems to have inspired the author to produce the book. In the preface he states that he writes for the general public, and he promises to treat the chief social questions of our time from a scientific, ethical standpoint. Much as such a work is needed, the book before us does not give satisfaction. It contains no suggestive views of social problems, and it tells us nothing new about the fundamental questions in ethics. It is written very unevenly; for instance, pp. 9 ff. are filled with abstract terms which the public can not grasp, while pp. 16 ff. contain commonplaces which will scarcely please a scientific reader. We notice a confusion of the terms metaphysics and theology (p. 3).

In the section on "Gott und Mensch," "Angeborene Ideen," the author commits himself to the worn-out theory of innate ideas. Throughout the first part of the work he does not maintain a clear distinction between reason and revelation.

A work of this kind, written along the lines indicated by the author in his preface, would be timely. We need it, but in the work in question the author seems scarcely to have been equal to the task.

The Psychology of the Saints, Henri Joly. With Preface and Notes by G. Tyrrell, S. J. London: Duckworth & Co.; New York: Benziger Bros. 1898. Pp. xv–184. Price, $1.00.

To the series of studies which M. Joly has given us on the lower animals, on great men and on criminals, this volume, in English dress, is a welcome addition. Psychologists generally recognize the importance of researches which deal not with the minute analyses of introspection and experiment, but with the richer actual experience of concrete human life. But if the study of character as it develops under ordinary influences requires insight and skill, the psychology of the Saints is a far more delicate subject. Where the workings of nature and of grace are so closely interwoven, analysis is a difficult task. Hence a tendency either to lay all stress on the supernatural elements, or, as certain modern writers have attempted, to get rid of these elements by furnishing a natural explanation of what seems to be more than human. One very significant aspect of the latter method is noted by Father Tyrrell in his preface. The explanations are an admission that there is something to be explained,—the facts are no longer scouted. It is high time, therefore, to have an account which shall respect both the facts in the lives of the Saints and the principles of psychology.

M. Joly treats, in five chapters, the "Idea of Sanctity in the Different Religions," "Human Nature in the Saints," "Extraordinary Phenomena in the Lives of the Saints," "The Senses and Imagination—The Intellect and Contemplation," and "Feeling, Love and Action." The exposition under each of these heads is necessarily concise; one must infer, indeed, that the limits of the book forbade a separate chapter on the Will, though this faculty is so marvellously developed by sanctity and, on the other hand, is so concerned in suggestion and allied phenomena which form the basis of the naturalistic "explanation." The discussion of such theories is the most interesting part of the work, and brings out in strong relief the sterling common sense of persons who are too often regarded as dreamy hysterical mystics. In fact, though the idea is not sufficiently worked out, there is evi dence to show that many of the Saints were not merely inter

esting subjects for the psychologist, but keen psychologists themselves.

On the whole, the book, in spite of its brevity, is a good opening, and may be the starting-point of a new hagiography. Other volumes are promised, and, if one may judge by the translation of this, will be very acceptable to the English reader.

Epochs of Literature. By Condé B. Pallen, Ph. D., LL. D., author of "The Philosophy of Literature," "New Rubáiyát," etc. B. Herder, St. Louis.

Dr. Pallen's new volume is what it claims to be,—a medium through which the properly prepared reader may get at "in large outline the spirit of the literature of the western world," and "learn to trace its *motif* in its various phases and developments." What Henri Lasserre says of Dr. Pallen's favorite author, may be said of all of Dr. Pallen's work,—"L'élevation est le caractère le plus frappant, le caractère géneral et essentiel d' Ernest Hello.[1] Tout est éleve,—même les plaines, qui ne sont que le plateau des altitudes ; même les gorges ombreuses qui ne sont que des valles supérieures et l'entre-deux des grandes montagnes." This elevation at first repels the reader accustomed to the lightness of touch and rapid descents of much modern writing ; but to the serious mind it has great attraction, though, as in Hello's case, it will probably always stand in the way of Dr. Pallen's popularity. Many may differ from his conclusions, but none can deny the beauty of his ideals. Of Rome (page 85—"The Transition,") he writes: "She went about crunching the bones of dead nations like a dumb beast; she first learned the uses of the human word from one of her victims, and forthwith began to imitate the human word as Greece had uttered it. In imitation she excelled, because she understood better perhaps than any other ancient people the power of the formula, the application of the rule in construction. Then rose the palmy days of her literature, not by virtue of any creative power, which alone produces a living utterance, but by virtue of her mastery of the formula, by the extraordinary power of artifice."

[1] L'Homme: Ernest Hello: Introduction par M. Henry Lasserre.

There is truth in this; but it seems as if Dr. Pallen demands too much when he insists, in a rather Roman and imperious way, that we shall forget the "Aeneid" in the "Iliad" and look on Virgil and Horace as mere reflectors, in the pastorals, of Theocritus and Bion. And when she could no longer imitate, "Rome," Dr. Pallen says, "becomes the prey of the barbarism which seethed in her own entrails. It was not until she had been internally disintegrated by the forces of her own corruption that the barbarians from without burst through the ring fence of her legions, and battered the crumbling mass into ruins."

Dr. Pallen is generous to the Roman historians. "The chief dignity of Roman literature was manifest in their work," he says, and down to Tacitus they showed forth the splendor of imperialism. There are many suggestive passages in the book,—passages which deserve careful attention, both for their philosophical thought and their beauty of expression, though some are marred by that very Latin rhetoric to which the author objects; among the most worthy chapters in book are "The Middle Ages and Dante," in which he makes a well-grounded plea for the "Paradiso."

Herder gives good letterpress and good binding; but it would be pleasant, if his binder would, in Dr. Pallen's next edition, make the sewing of the pages more flexible. A book that will not stay open without a weight upon it is a trial to best of tempers.

Jerome Savonarola. A Sketch by Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O. P. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1898. 8°, pp. 232.

The author of this book, a Dominican friar, offers us a work partly chronicle, partly portrait of his famous "Ordensbruder." He specially disclaims any notion of presenting the famous preacher in a new light, "nor has he written for scholars, to whom the copious literature of Savonarola is available." The eventful story is fairly well told, and may be perused with benefit, even after so many artistic recitals of the great Christian tragedy that closed the fifteenth century, and marks the culmination of certain phases of the Renaissance, the papacy, Italian life and Italian mediæval ideals. A chapter relating

the history of the proposal to celebrate the fourth centenary of the death of Savonarola would have added to the book the charm of novelty and a certain zest.

Der Magister Nikolaus Magni de Jawor (1355-1433), ein Beitrag zur Literatur-und Gelehrtengeschichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, von Adolph Franz. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1898. pp. 268. $1.75 net.

Student at the University of Prague, later a teacher in the same, and finally its rector; teacher and then rector and vice-chancellor of the University of Heidelburg,—the life of such a man must offer great pedagogical interest. The university professors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were often men of more than ordinary influence in social and civil affairs. We have only to recall the part played by the University of Paris and the doctors of the Council of Basle in the great events that closed the Middle Ages. In this sketch of the life of Dr. Nikolaus the author has brought together much valuable information concerning the personnel and action of the theological faculties of Prague and Heidelberg, their relations to the papacy and the mendicant brotherhoods, the social and economic sides of the university life, the methods of teaching, and the granting of degrees. A lengthy chapter deals with the treatise of Dr. Nikolaus on Witchcraft and Superstitions,—a notable contribution to the history of public opinion concerning witches and demons. Our professor was also the representative of the University of Heidelberg at the Council of Constance,—hence the volume is valuable as an illustration of that rôle played by the theological faculties in that century of transition.

The Coptic Version of the New Testament, in the Northern dialect, otherwise called Memphitic or Bohairic, with introduction, critical apparatus, and literal English translation; 2 vols., 8°. Vol. I, Introduction, Matthew and Mark, pp. cxlviii–484. Vol. II, Luke and John, pp. 584. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898.

We cannot give a too hearty welcome to this new production of the famous Clarendon Press, nor praise too highly the scholarship displayed in these fine volumes, by the modest author,

Rev. George Horner, whose signature appears, in initials only, at the foot of the preface.

Twice, already, has this Bohairic version been published, viz., by David Wilkins (at the Clarendon Press) in 1716, and again by Schwartze in 1846–47; unfortunately with so little criticism, in both occasions, that there resulted but little profit for Biblical studies. Wilkins neglected to inform us as to how he obtained the text he adopted, while Schwartze does not seem to have cared much what text he gave us. Both misunderstood their task; they seem to have been more anxious to meet the *want* than the *need* of the public. Some, then, as is still yet the case with many, merely wanted a Coptic text to compare with the Greek. But before we make that comparison we must ascertain which is the genuine Coptic text. To establish critically that text is what the intelligent public interested in Scriptural criticism expects from a Coptic scholar. Mr. Horner deserves credit for having understood and answered that expectation.

The text selected by the author is the one of Cod. Huntington, 17, in the Bodleian Library, dated A. D. 1174, the oldest Coptic manuscript extant of the Gospels. This choice was due to the wise suggestion of Profs. L. Stern, Ignazio Guidi, and the late Prof. de Lagarde. In fact, there was every reason to believe, as the latter maintained, that that manuscript was the most ancient representative of the Bohairic text, and was, consequently, the best available basis for textual criticism. But it was Mr. Horner's merit to show that that manuscript was not alone in its purity, and that, although freer, as a rule, from Greek late additions than any other manuscript, it had nevertheless taken in a good many clauses not to be found in other manuscripts of the same class. To reach that result the author did not recoil from collating or examining forty-six manuscripts, which means nearly all the manuscripts in the European libraries, and the most important ones of the Patriarchal Library in Cairo. The evidence thus obtained he concisely, but also systematically and intelligibly, disposed in the lower margin of the page, so that the reader can at a glance convince himself, not only of the genuine Bohairic reading, but also, in most cases, of the history of the corruptions and

corrections. The most fastidious lover of textual criticism could not expect any more under the circumstances. "However," as wisely remarks Mr. Horner, "no final conclusion can be obtained concerning the character of the version until much labor has been expended upon the material collected in the present critical apparatus. The first impression produced by a superficial study of the various readings tends to confirm the prevalent estimate of the version, and it appears that this estimate will remain established until documents of another sort are discovered in Egypt. The theory of the preservation of an unchanged form of text in the Egyptian Jacobites manuscripts is also strikingly confirmed by those collated. Corrections, indeed, occur in all, yet frequent notes in several state that the corrections are Greek, not Coptic, implying as plainly as possible that the Jacobite Copts jealously preserved a tradition as to the correct readings of their version against Melchite, *i. e.*, Constantinopolitan readings or innovations."

What we have just said of the critical apparatus leads us to make a few remarks concerning the part of the introduction devoted to the "Description of the Manuscripts," which forms an important feature of Mr. Horner's work. Thanks to its thoroughness, anybody who is at all familiar with Coptic manuscripts, has, when reading it, the illusion of a whole real collection of precious manuscripts passing, in a fairy-like manner, before his eyes, volume per volume, folio per folio. The detailed description of the quaint, half byzantine, half Moorish ornaments with their scrolls of cornucopiae and their more than mythical birds and animals; of the arrangement of the text couched in an awkward style of handwriting, with its fanciful divisions marked by minium-reddened initials; of the naïve colophons of the amanuensis or anagnostês asking for forgiveness and prayers on every available blank space, gives the reader the impression of seeing the manuscript itself. The book will prove of the highest interest not only to the student of the Coptic version of the Bible, but also to the amateur of Coptic palæography, who will find in it quite a treasury of information about that interesting daughter of the Greek script.

As for the translation, the object of Mr. Horner was to "supply the English reader with some knowledge of the Greek text,

which was translated by the Egyptians of the northwestern province, . . . and was also intended by literal treatment, to give an idea of the peculiarities of the language and the method of the version." This task was difficult and might have been carried out more effectively by means of a Greek, (or, at least, Latin) translation. We may suppose, to some extent, that one may be truly interested in textual criticism without realizing the necessity of becoming familiar with the Coptic idiom; but, assuredly not without a fair knowledge of Greek and Latin. However, we must say that the author has done the very best to be equal to his hard and self-imposed task, as everybody can judge from his careful translation, and especially from the most minute directions which he gives the reader to see, through his English rendering, the Coptic text, even the original Greek, as well as could be done, considering the so different genius of the two languages.

For once, we beg to close a book review without adding any unfavorable criticism. Undoubtedly we could pick up here and there a few weak points upon which to comment, especially in the "description of the manuscripts;" but in presence of the abundant and precious information to be found there about a favorite class of manuscripts we would be ashamed to find fault with secondary items, in which the author failed, not through lack of painstaking, intelligence or criticism, but rather on account of the immensity of the task, which to fulfill he gave up, for several years, his professional occupations and submitted himself to unlimited labor and hardships of all kinds.

Again we wish God-speed to the Rev. G. Horner's publication, and we express our thanks to all those who generously assisted him, especially to the Directors of the Clarendon Press. They have already given hearty evidences of their zeal for the scientific understanding of the biblical texts. This latest enterprise has certainly succeeded beyond the expectations of one of the two who, seven or eight years ago, gave the verdict which determined the Clarendon Press to take up this new edition of the Bohairic version of the Gospels. May the rest of that version of the New Testament soon follow and be entrusted to the same hand!

Clerical Studies, by Very Rev. J. B. Hogan, S. S., D. D. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1898.

English Catholic literature is singularly deficient in works meant to serve as a general introduction to the study of theology. We have nothing in English to correspond to the theological Encyklopädie so familiar to German students, nothing to match Protestant works like Schaff's Theological Propadeutic, or Cave's "Introduction to Theology and its Literature." The "Clerical Studies" of Father Hogan go far towards supplying this need. While not entering with minuteness of detail into the manifold subdivisions of theological studies, while referring but meagerly to their extensive bibliographies, the book gives an admirable insight into the nature, scope, significance, and methods of the chief branches of theological study, valuable alike to the beginner and to the priest who has made his elementary course of theology.

After an interesting chapter on the study of natural science, and a still more valuable one on the study of philosophy, the author proceeds to take the reader over the field of theology proper,—apologetics, dogmatic, moral, ascetic, and pastoral theology, canon law, liturgy, homiletics, Church history, the Bible, and the Church Fathers. In this wide survey he has known how to be solid and serious without being heavy. There is not a dull page in the whole book. Written in an easy, engaging style, it abounds in pregnant thoughts and happy suggestions. Its many practical hints for securing the best results from these various branches of theological study are invaluable. One feels that one is listening to the ripe wisdom of a scholar who has read widely in theology and has done a great deal of independent thinking. The chapters on Apologetics, Dogmatic and Moral Theology are written in the author's happiest vein. One must look far for a more masterly exposition of theology as a progressive science than is to be found in articles 3 and 4 of the chapter on Apologetics and in articles 2 and 3 of that on Dogmatic Theology. No less interesting and instructive are the admirable essays on casuistry and the imperfections and limitations of moral theology that constitute the last three articles of chapter 5, on Moral Theology.

These chapters, together with chapter 11 on Church His-

tory and chapter 12 on the Bible, are the most valuable portions of this entertaining book. But there is not a chapter that will not amply reward the time spent in its perusal. The book deserves a place in every priest's library, and if carefully, dispassionately read, will not fail to dissipate many narrow prejudices unfortunately too common, and make place for a broader, juster conception of the nature and scope of theology.

The errors of the printer are remarkably few. On p. 183, we find *forms* for *form;* on p. 428 *Summs* for *Summa.* A very few flaws of language are noticeable. Thus the author shows an undue fondness for the colloquial expression *better than* in the sense of *more than. Deducing* from principles is better than *deducting*, p. 247. On p. 428 the author speaks of argument substituted *to* authority, instead of *for* authority.

As is well known, these essays on Clerical Studies appeared first as a series of articles in the *American Ecclesiastical Review.* In putting them into book form, the author has overlooked a few expressions, as "in our next paper," p. 274, "in the present paper," p. 453, which were apropos only in their original setting.

But these are trifling defects, and can easily be corrected in a future edition. When the call for the next edition comes, and it is not rash to predict that it will come soon, it is to be hoped that the value of the book will be enhanced by a judicious list of standard works at the end of each chapter. The references in the present edition are too meager, and in a few instances an indulgent spirit has led the author to mention books not of a high order of merit. While there is thus room for slight improvement, the book, as it stands, will rank with the very first of recent contributions in English to Catholic theological literature.

Legal Formulary. A Collection of Forms to be used in the Exercise of Voluntary and Contentious Jurisdiction; by Rev. Peter A. Baart, A. M., S. T. L. New York: Pustet. 1898. 8°, pp. 492.

This work is the latest from the pen of Father Baart, and is certainly a valuable addition to the scant number of books on canon law which have appeared in the vernacular. The author intends the work primarily as a book of forms to aid

diocesan officials who frequently find themselves obliged to draw up documents depending for their validity on the close observance of certain formalities. But the explanation of these forms has happily led the writer far beyond his original and explicit purpose, and gives us what is in reality an epitome of the law bearing on exclusively diocesan matters.

Too much credit cannot be given the author for so laudable and successful an attempt to present in an English dress and handy form information which poor library facilities or an inability to use to advantage the folios of the old canonists, the Corpus or the texts of more recent enactments, place beyond the reach of most priests. It is especially acceptable at the present time, when the study of the canons is assuming a new interest for priests generally, and when ecclesiastical provisions as to the rights and obligations of different members of the clerical body are not simply a matter of pure erudition, but have become of factual moment and application. Not the least praiseworthy feature of the book is its American character. Father Baart has not ignored the features of Church polity peculiar to the United States, but has made this volume of real, practical interest to American ecclesiastics. At times it may appear that his desire to establish an opinion leads him into the natural consequence of case-making, and causes him to forget that in a number of instances with us, the law is not what it ought to be, but what it is. An instance of this, it seems to us, is found in his reasoning on the words, "quamdin parochiae canonice erectae non sint," in the chapter on parish priests.

The book will be welcomed as filling a long-existing need, and will prove of great service to those who may not find at hand the works of Monacelli, Reiffenstuel, Pignatelli and Bouix, or who desire to acquire the knowledge which the author's long experience as a practical canonist has convinced him will be essential for the correct conduct and solution of diocesan cases.

The Seven Dolors of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by Eliza Allen Starr. Published by the Author, 299 Huron Street, Chicago. 1898. Small 8°, pp. 121, with 7 illustrations in half-tone. 75 cts.

This charming little volume of piety, dedicated to the Sis-

ters of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, is a revelation. From the innumerable specimens of bad taste that load the counters of Catholic book stores one might have concluded that good English, elegance of expression, artistic excellence, were qualities that no one looked for in the books of piety offered to the English-speaking world. Miss Starr has shown what can be done, with very simple apparatus, to improve this undesirable condition of our literature of edification. She has woven a chaplet of descriptive prose about some fine masterpieces of Raphael, Perugino and Duccio, among the old masters, and Steinle and Overbeck among the new. The text of her meditations is nourished with good doctrine, but it is also enlivened by the play of feeling and imagination. The pictorial history of each Dolor—the varying conception of the subject by succeeding epochs—puts the reader in touch with all his brethren of the past to whom these cruel stages of Christ's passion were, if possible, more real than to us. Some crowning triumph of Christian art fascinates her pen in each meditation, and becomes as it were, the living coal from which are lit the flames of devotion. Very beautiful, in particular, are her comments upon the "Entombment" of Perugino. It is clear that the description of paintings, that favorite trick of the classic rhetoricians, has not lost its power to charm, and that in skilful hands the treasures of Catholic art may be made to serve their original purpose, even at an immeasurable distance of place and time.

St. Augustine, by Ad Hatzfeld, translated by E. Holt, with a preface and notes by George Tyrrell, S. J. New York: Benziger Bros. 1898, 8°, pp. 155.

We have already noticed this work in the BULLETIN (vol. III, pp. 222–23).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(Mention under this rubric does not preclude further notice).

Ars Liberalis seu Rhetorica Politico-Sacra ex probationibus auctoribus compendiose collecta a Sac. Bernardo M. Skulik, Th. Doctore. Senis, 1898, 8°, pp.

Buddha's Tooth, worshipped by the Buddhists of Ceylon, in

the pagoda called Dalada-Maligawa at Kandy. Mangagalore, 1898, 8°, pp. 82.

St. Etienne, Roi apostolique de Hongrie, par E. Horn. Victor Lecoffre, Paris, 1898, pp. 197.

St. Ignace de Loyola, par Henri Joly. Victor Lecoffre, Paris, 1898, pp. 227.

Etudes d'Histoire et d'Archéologie, par Paul Allard. Paris, Victor Lecoffre, 1898 ; 8°, pp. 436.

The Growth of Science, by St. George Mivart. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1898.

The Gospel According to St. Matthew, with an explanatory and critical commentary, by Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J., Woodstock, Md. St. Louis : B. Herder, 1898, pp. XLI–317.

The Groundwork of Science, St. George Mivart. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.

La Notion de Temps. Désiré Nys. Louvain : Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1898.

Estudios Biológicos. P. J. Martinez Núnez. Madrid : Jubera Hermanos, 1898.

Books and their Makers during the Middle Ages, by Geo. Haven Putnam, A. M. Vol. I, 476–1600, pp. XXVII–459 ; vol. II, 1500–1709, pp. 538, large 8°.

JOSEPH BANIGAN, ESQ.

The Catholic University is called upon to lament the death of one of its most devoted Trustees, Mr. Joseph Banigan, who died in Providence, R. I., July 28, 1898. Born in Ireland, in the County Monaghan, Mr. Banigan came, as a boy, with his parents to Rhode Island, where, after a few years in school, he was apprenticed to the jewelry trade, and even then was recognized not only as a good workman but also as a most promising inventor. He afterwards entered the rubber business, the sale of his patents furnishing him his first capital, with which he was admitted into partnership with his employers. He was the first manufacturer to deal directly with the rubber producers of Brazil. No man was more familiar with the details of the different lines of work in which he was engaged. A close attention to business and kind consideration for his employees made him not only a successful but a popular manufacturer. His nationality and his religion offered many difficulties in the competition into which he was obliged to enter, but his keen intellect and rugged honesty brought him to success in all his undertakings. He soon rose to the head of the Rubber Trust, which brought to him for many years the designation of the "Rubber King."

With success in business his fortune increased, and he extended his interests to other corporations. At the time of his death he was possessed of large real estate interests in the city of Providence, so that the largest building in the city bears his name. He was president of the Howard Sterling Company, silversmiths, of the American Wringer Company, and of the Providence Telegram Company, while he had large investments in many other enterprises throughout the country.

Besides his reputation as one of the most successful of American business men, Mr. Banigan was remarkable for his charity. He was always ready to share his wealth with the poor. In

1880 he built and furnished the Home for the Aged, Pawtucket, at a cost of about $200,000. He also built the St. Maria Home for Working Girls at a cost of $100,000. Every institution of charity in the diocese of Providence was the recipient of large gifts from his hands.

The University is indebted to him for the foundation of the Chair of Political Economy, having received for that purpose his check for $50,000. He had great interest in the libraries of the School of Philosophy, and allotted for library improvements $4,000 annually, the earnings of a large block of stock in the Werner Company, of Akron, Ohio. It was his intention to continue this benefaction for twelve years, until the sum had aggregated $50,000.

Mr. Banigan's death was that of the good Catholic, a fitting reward for a life of faith. Bishop Harkins, a close intimate friend of the deceased, found subject for his eulogy in the public and private charities of this noble-hearted man. The interment was in the chapel built by Mr. Banigan in St. Francis' Cemetery. The Right Rev. Rector represented the University at the funeral.

Mr. Banigan's success was the result of his devotion to industry and honesty. He had travelled extensively and gathered experience from contact with business men throughout the world. From his humble beginnings as a workingman he had risen to the highest position in the business world, yet he never ceased to be sympathetic with the workingman. Realizing many of the difficulties under which he had labored, because of his own lack of academic training, he was anxious to place education within the reach of those of the present generation.

He was always a practical Catholic, proud of his religion and of his nationality, an exemplar of devotion to his family, to his parish, and to his city. Rugged in his honesty, he was fearless in his denunciation of wrong. He despised petty things, was superior to jealousies, and ever ready to give credit to sincerity in others. He felt a providential mission in the development of the charities of the diocese in which he lived. He was a successful business man, a conscientious Catholic, a model man. The Church has lost in him a devoted child, the

University a munificent benefactor. With our work his name shall ever be associated in the development of the lay schools of the University.

The Catholic University honored the memory of Mr. Banigan by a Solemn High Mass of Requiem, Saturday, October 22d. The Board of Trustees at the annual meeting passed resolutions of condolence.

May he rest in peace.

UNIVERSITY CHRONICLE.

Meeting of the Board of Directors.—The annual meeting of the Board of Trustees took place this year on Tuesday, October 11, in the Senate room, MacMahon Hall. There were present Cardinal Gibbons, Chancellor of the University; Most Rev. John J. Williams, D. D., Archbishop of Boston; Most Rev. M. A. Corrigan, D. D., Archbishop of New York; Most Rev. P. J. Ryan, D. D., Archbishop of Philadelphia; Most Rev. John J. Keane, D. D., Archbishop of Damascus; Right Rev. John L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria; Right Rev. John S. Foley, Bishop of Detroit; Right Rev. C. P. Maes, D. D., Bishop of Covington; Right Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D.D., Bishop of Cleveland; Right Rev. Monsignor Thomas J. Conaty, D. D., Rector of the University; and Mr. Thomas E. Waggaman, Treasurer. The Cardinal presided. After prayer the minutes of the previous meeting were read by the secretary, Rev. I. F. Horstmann, D. D., and approved. The reports of the different committees were received and their recommendations adopted. The committee on finance reported plans looking to the completion of the endowment funds of the University, which were approved. The treasurer's report showed the financial condition of the University for the past year to have been very satisfactory. Credit was given for $35,249.58 which was received from the dioceses in which collections had been made for the University.

The receipts for the year from endowments, collections and other sources amounted to	$ 133,906.06
The expenditures during the year were	130,851.04
Leaving a balance of	$3,055.02
The trust funds of the University, September 1, were	$806,806.85
The properties amounted to	1,002,945.74
Making a total of	$1,809,752.59

as the resources of the University, all accumulated during the past ten years.

The resignation of the Rev. Thomas S. Lee as a member of the Board of Trustees was received and accepted, and the Rector of the University, who had been an *ex-officio* member

of the Board, was elected an active member to fill the vacancy.

The death of the late Joseph Banigan, of Providence, was announced by the Rector, and resolutions of condolence were passed. The filling of the vacancy on the Board caused by this death was left to the Executive Committee for final action.

The Executive Committee reported that the resignations of Very Rev. Mgr. Joseph Schroeder, D. D., and Rev. Daniel Quinn, Ph. D., had been received and accepted, and this action of the committee was approved. Rev. Edmund T. Shanahan, D. D., of Boston, was promoted Professor in the Chair of Dogmatic Theology, and Mr. Daniel W. Shea, Ph.D., was elected General Secretary of the University.

The Right Rev. Rector presented to the Board a letter from Right Rev. Charles E. McDonnell, D. D., Bishop of Brooklyn, transmitting in the name of the Mitchell Memorial Committee the sum of $5,000 for the establishment of what is known as the Rev. James H. Mitchell Scholarship for the diocese of Brooklyn. Notice was also given of a bequest of $5,000 by the will of Rev. Thomas Carroll, of Oil City, Pa., for a scholarship for the diocese of Erie, Pa., and the gift of $10,000 from Miss Hudson, of Washington, D. C., establishing a fellowship to be known as the Anna Hope Hudson Fellowship.

FACULTY OF THEOLOGY.

The Right Rev. Rector.—After the graduation exercises of the University, June 10th, the Right Rev. Rector went to Nazareth, Ky., where he delivered the annual address to the alumnae association of that celebrated academy. He spoke on the "Duty of Catholic Ladies to the Educational Idea of the Church." He also visited Loretto Academy and addressed the graduates, and gave a special talk to the Sisters. He lectured in Louisville, under the auspices of the Catholic Club, on the "Duty of Catholic Young Men to Education." At Chicago he gave a course of four lectures in St. James' School Hall in the interest of the Sisters' Institute. His topics were: "The Church in Education," "The Church and Modern Ideas in Education," "Catholic Women in the Educational System of the Church," "Celtic influence in English Litera-

ture." More than four hundred religious attended these lectures, while many of the prominent secular teachers and educators of Chicago were also present. By special request Mgr. Conaty spoke to the Sisters on "Educational Methods." The course was a marked success and exceedingly well appreciated, especially by the religious. From Chicago the Rector went to Dubuque, where he addressed the large community of nuns at the mother-house of the B. V. M. at Mt. Carmel, and the following morning gave the commencement oration at Mount St. Joseph's Academy. That same evening he spoke to the Dominican Nuns at their mother-house in Sinsinawa Mound, Wis. He visited St. Louis, Milwaukee, and Davenport, Iowa, after which he went to Worcester, Mass., where he gave the address at the commencement exercises in his former parish. His itinerary ended in Philadelphia, where he gave the Fourth of July oration at the Temperance Fountain in Fairmount Park, at which Archbishop Ryan presided.

A Most Useful Gift from a Former Alumnus.—The Rev. Thomas J. O'Brien, superintendent of parochial schools in the diocese of Brooklyn, and a former alumnus of the University, has presented to the theological library a complete set (45 volumes, édition de luxe) of the Library of the World's Best Literature. This vast collection of carefully written articles of a biographical or critical character, and dealing with all the literatures of the world, makes a very useful addition to the theological library. The professors and students owe a great debt of gratitude to Father O'Brien for his thoughtful gift. It is all the more welcome since it comes from one of our own students, and is an evidence of the unflagging interest in the good cause of the higher education of our clergy. Not the least consolation of those who conduct the University is the knowledge that its ecclesiastical graduates are everywhere men of enlightenment and culture, and that they give, in their own persons, the most satisfactory proof that the promises and hopes of the Catholic University are being carried out.

Fellowship in the Faculty of Theology.—The Marquise de Merinville (Mary Gwendoline Byrd Caldwell) and her sister the Baroness von Zedtwitz (Elizabeth Breckenridge Caldwell) have

given the sum of $10,000 to establish a fellowship in theology as a perpetual memorial of their deceased parents. This is independent of the scholarship established lately by the Marquise de Merinville for the Diocese of Peoria. Such renewed evidence of the interest of our generous founders is particularly gratifying to the faculty and students of theology. The establishment of fellowships is a particular need of the University. Every such foundation makes more certain the succession of capable professors.

Waldemar Conrad Baron von Zedtwitz Theological Scholarship.—The Marquise de Merinville has founded a theological scholarship to be known as the Waldemar Conrad Baron von Zedtwitz Scholarship. It is given to the diocese of Peoria. For this new evidence of her interest in the higher education of our American clergy the University expresses sincere gratitude to its generous foundress.

The Rev. Thomas Carroll Theological Scholarship.—The University has received from the estate of the late lamented Rev. Thomas Carroll, of Oil City, Pa., Diocese of Erie, the sum of five thousand dollars for a theological scholarship in favor of the Diocese of Erie. This is the eleventh scholarship in the Faculty of Theology, and its presentation is received by the University with sincere gratitude to the memory of the good priest who distributed his wealth so wisely for educational purposes, thus continuing the best traditions of the Catholic clergy. May he rest in peace!

FACULTY OF PHILOSOPHY.

Philosophy.—An important aid to instruction and an appropriate decoration for hall and class-room is the series of portraits of philosophers and psychologists which the Open Court Publishing Company, of Chicago, is bringing out. The list, sixty-eight in all, includes the world's greatest thinkers in ancient and in modern times. The scholastic period is represented by St. Thomas and Duns Scotus, and the Patristic by St. Augustine. Of the representative psychologists many are

still living, and their work is familiar to all students. The portraits, taken from the best sources, are excellent photogravures 11 by 14 inches, and are furnished at reasonable prices. The complete set, on regular paper, is to be had for $7.50; on heavy Imperial Japanese paper, for $11.00. Forty-five of the portraits have been received by the Department of Philosophy and placed in position.

Lectures of Dr. Kerby at Plattsburg.—Dr. Kerby delivered a course of lectures, on the Labor Movement in the United States, at the Sumner School in Plattsburg, New York, during the week of July 18-23. An introductory lecture was devoted to the general science of Sociology, its various schools, various views of its problems, and its great service in the understanding of the problems of charity, temperance and education. The second lecture was on the organization and spirit of the labor movement; the aims, principles and methods of trades-unionism. The third and fourth lectures were devoted to an exposition of Socialism, its various schools, their relation to philosophy, religion, and government; a comparison of Socialist theories and those of Henry George, and the attitude of the Church to Socialism. The fifth lecture was on the organization of Labor Bureaus and their methods of investigation; their service to science and the difficulties which they encounter. The last lecture was devoted to the consideration of the relation of the Church to the Social question; the principles and methods by which she organizes her efforts at social amelioration.

Gift of the Journal de Physique (1773-1822) 96 vols.—The general library of the University has just been enriched by the acquisition of a long series of volumes of that classic journal of Natural Science, the *Journal de Physique*, an illustrated quarto serial which was published in Paris during a part of the eighteenth century, and the earlier decades of the nineteenth. This important publication was issued at the rate of two thick volumes each year, and sometimes more, and contained the results of a large part of the scientific research then being carried on in Europe, not excluding even the North American colonies. Physics, chemistry, medicine, botany and zoology,

in not unequal proportions, comprise the subject-matter of the whole series; and among the contributors of articles on physics and chemistry one reads such names as Lavosier, Lalanch, Le Sage, Haüy, Humboldt, De Saussure, Dr. Priestly and Benjamin Franklin; while the list of contributors to the new botany and zoology of the series contains names as celebrated as those of Haller, Ventenat, Gmelin, Sir John Hill and Sir Joseph Banks, Marcgrav, Ellis, Fougenux and Rufinesque.

This most welcome accession is the gift of our colleague, Dr. Renê de Saussure. The volumes number ninety-six in all, running through the years from 1773 to 1822, inclusive. And, as indicating the rarity of this series in the libraries of this country, it may be noted that our professor of botany, Dr. Greene, who has repeatedly been obliged to consult certain botanical articles in the *Journal de Physique*, has been unable to find it except in one large library in Philadelphia, and in one other in New York city.

From all of us who are interested in the early progress of natural science in Europe and America, Dr. de Saussure will have appreciation and sincere gratitude for this generous addition to our list of rare books.

Department of Botany.—Among recent noteworthy accessions to the herbarium are a set of Mr. Charles Pollard's plants of the Keys of Florida. This was obtained by private purchase and presented to the University. Considerable additions have been made during the summer by Mr. Tidestrom and Mr. Ernest Greene, the former having collected in Florida and near Santiago, Cuba, the latter in the Allegheny Mountains of northern Pennsylvania. The professor in charge of the department passed most of the first two months of the vacation engaged in field work on the prairies of Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota, thereby adding much valuable material to the botanical collection of the University. The written results of this scientific tour are in course of publication, partly in *Pittonia* and partly in the *Plant World*. Among the more important works added to the botanical library may be mentioned Hooke's "Flora of British India," in seven volumes.

Department of Chemistry.—During the summer vacation, the Chemical Museum was enriched by a very interesting collection of pharmaceutical products and aniline colors, donated by the celebrated firm of Kalle & Co., Biebrich-on-Rhine, Germany. The compounds are very neatly put up, with the constitutional formulæ of many of them given on the labels, and are so arranged as to form a genetic series leading up to several important products.

Amongst these may be mentioned artificial indigo. The use of indigo as a dyestuff dates back to a period prior to the times of Dioscorides and Pliny, both of whom mention it in their writings. It began to be used as a dye in Europe early in the sixteenth century, and ever since has held its place as one of the most valuable of dyes.

The cultivation of indigo is confined in great part to Bengal, Java and Central America, which countries furnish an annual yield of 18,230,000 pounds, valued at $20,000,000. The artificial production of indigo has for a long time interested the chemist, and this was first accomplished by Emmerling and Engler, in 1870, but their work was very much facilitated by the brilliant investigations of Baeyer, to whom, more than to any one else, chemists are indebted for their present knowledge of the indigo group, and who, later, made several important syntheses of the product. Though these syntheses have been theoretically successful, and have firmly established the chemical constitution of indigo, the difficulties of manufacturing have intervened to prevent it from becoming a close competitor with the natural product. These obstacles, however, are gradually vanishing before the efforts of many distinguished chemists, and the indigo plantations are doomed, sooner or later, to go the way of the immense madder fields of three decades ago.

A very ingenious production of artificial indigo is illustrated by a series of products in the collection under consideration. From benzol, a coal-tar product, benzyl chloride is obtained. By the action of nitric acid this is changed into nitro products, and of these, the ortho-nitro-benzyl-chloride is taken, transformed into the corresponding alcohol, which in turn is oxidized to ortho-nitro-benzaldehyde. This is treated

with acetone and caustic soda, and as a result ortho-nitro-phenyl β lactic-methyl-ketone, which in trade is designated "Indigo Salt T," is obtained. From this latter the artificial indigo is produced. An interesting feature of the exhibit, and one which recalls the synthesis of magenta, which worked such disaster to the cultivation of the madder root, is a series of compounds illustrating the production of para-fuchsine and para-rosaniline from the para-nitro-benzyl-chloride, which is obtained together with the ortho compound in the process of nitrification of the benzyl-chloride. From the ortho-benzyl-chloride is also obtained Orexine, a drug of much value in the treatment of affections of the stomach.

Several very stable dyes, derivatives of naphthaline, and specimens of guajacol and ethacol are shown in the collection. The University is indebted to Dr. W. J. Hoffman, United States Consul at Mannheim, Germany, for his kind offices in procuring these products from Kalle & Co.

An exhibit of synthetical perfumes and other products was recently received from Fries Brothers, New York, representing the Société Chimique des Usines du Rhone, of Lyons, France, and LaPlaine, Switzerland. The collection is a most valuable one itself, and a pleasing trophy of one of the great triumphs of modern chemistry. In these compounds, consisting principally of complex aldehydes and ethers, we have reproduced in a most perfect manner the principal flower essences sought for by the perfumer. When it is remembered that it requires two hundred thousand full-grown roses to yield one-half ounce of oil of roses, and that this quantity of the genuine oil has sold at prices varying from $50 to $100, we can surmise the strenuous efforts put forth to provide a substitute.

After many years of work in studying the properties and decomposition products of the natural oil of roses, a most expensive undertaking, the chemist was able to make known its chemical constitution, and then set to work to build up this structure in the laboratory, producing the substance which gives its odoriferous properties to the rose, and which will protect the industry making use of it from the uncertainties and imperfections of the natural supply. The rhodinol of this collection reproduces perfectly the odor of the natural oil of

roses, and as the cost of production is much less and is likely to decrease with improved methods of manufacture, it bids fair to displace the natural article from the market. Another very expensive natural product which the chemist has duplicated is vanillin, so extensively used as a flavoring extract. The specimen in this collection consists of large, well defined and clear crystals, possessing the characteristic taste and odor of the vanilla bean. Other synthetics of the series reproduce the odors of the acacia, cyclamen, heliotrope, lavender, orchid and syringa.

The Department of Chemistry is very much indebted to several of the priests of the archdiocese of Boston for the practical interest they have shown in the development of its library. These generous friends of the University have furnished the Chemical Department with the most important and necessary chemical journals, and have added to the library as follows:

Rev. Dr. O'Callaghan, South Boston. Zeitschrift für Physicalische Chemie, 9 volumes.

Rev. James O'Doherty, Haverhill. Journal of the Chemical Society (London), 8 volumes.

Rev. C. T. McGrath, Somerville. Zeitschrift für Anorganische Chemie, 6 volumes.

Rev. William Orr, Cambridge. Bulletin de la Société Chimique de Paris, 5 volumes; and Zeitschrift für Physiologische Chemie, 3 volumes.

Rev. D. J. O'Farrell, Boston. Chemisches Central-Blatt, 2 volumes.

Rev. Richard Nagle, Malden. Berichte der Deutschen Chemischen Gesellschaft, 3 volumes; and Monatshefte für Chemie, 1 volume.

Rev. J. P. F. Kelly, Somerville. Annales de Chimie et de Physique, 10 volumes.

Rev. L. J. Morris, Brookline. Journal für Praktische Chemie, 2 volumes; and Les Actualités Chimiques, 1 volume.

Rev. William F. Powers, East Cambridge. Zeitschrift für Analytische Chemie, 3 volumes.

Rev. Joseph J. Graham, Haverhill. Justus Liebig's Annalen der Chemie, 12 volumes.

Rev. John J. Coan, St. John's Seminary, Brighton. The Chemical News, 5 volumes.

The Gaelic Chair.—In October, 1896, the Ancient Order of Hibernians donated the sum of $50,000 as an endowment for the teaching of Keltic language and literature in the University. Their generous purpose is now realized in the work of the Rev. Richard Henebry, Ph. D., who opened his courses at the beginning of the academic year. Dr. Henebry has for some years devoted himself to the study of Gaelic under the best teachers in England. More recently he has pursued his studies at the universities of Freiburg and Greifswald, at the latter of which he received the degree, Doctor of Philosophy. He is the author of a monograph entitled: "A Contribution to the Phonology of the Desi—Irish." His subjects this year are: Old Irish Grammar, Middle Irish Texts, Modern Irish Grammar and Composition, and Mediæval Gaelic Handwriting and Miniature.

The Gaelic League of America.—At the meeting in New York, November 2, of delegates from the various Gaelic societies of the United States, a permanent league was formed under the above name. Rev. Dr. Henebry, our professor of Celtic languages and literature, was appointed to the presidency.

Department of Latin Language and Literature.—Dr. J. J. Dunn, Ph. D. (Yale), has been temporarily appointed instructor in Latin. During the first half year his course will consist of a critical study of Vergil, during the second half year the Satires of Horace will be the center of work.

FACULTY OF LAW.

Law School.—Mr. James A. McDonald, LL. B., a graduate of Harvard University, has been appointed instructor in the School of Law.

Bar Examinations of Former Students.—The following have passed the bar examinations in their respective States: Martin T. Birmingham, Providence, R. I.; Frank A. Bolton, Newark, Ohio; William T. Borrough, New York; William P. Burns, Michigan City, Ind.; William I. Cashman, Boston, Mass.; John F. Duane, Brooklyn, N. Y.; James F. Kenedy, Los Angeles, Cal.; James L. Kennedy, Greensburgh, Pa.; John G. Mott, Los Angeles, Cal.; Thomas D. Mott, Los Angeles, Cal.; John J. P. O'Brien, Wheeling, W. Va.; Owen W. Reddy, Rockville, Md.

AFFILIATED COLLEGES.

College of St. Thomas Aquinas.—The scholasticate of the Congregation of St. Paul has a membership of 32, as against 26 last year; Rev. M. P. Smith, C. S. P., is Superior and professor of moral theology; Rev. Gilbert Simmons, C. S. P., professor of philosophy; Rev. Peter J. O'Callaghan, C. S. P., master of novices and professor of dogmatic theology. Father O'Callaghan attended the courses of the University during the years 1889–93.

Marist College.—Since the publication of the Year-Book, Rev. John M. Le Grand has been transferred to the Maryland missions and Rev. Dr. John E. Gunn has been appointed pastor of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Atlanta, Ga. The staff at present includes Rev. J. B. Descreux, S. M., president and professor of Church History; Rev. F. J. Sollier, S. M., D.D., vice-president and professor of dogmatic theology; Rev. A. Moussey, S. M., professor of moral theology; Rev. R. Butin, S. M., instructor. There are 24 students in the College, an increase of four over last year's membership.

Holy Cross College.—Since 1895 students of the Congregation of the Holy Cross attending the University have occupied a house in Brookland. It was felt, however, that for their permanent residence more spacious grounds and a building adapted to the purposes of the Community would be needed. As a first step towards supplying their needs, Very Rev. Dr. J. A. Zahm, recently elected Provincial of the Congregation, has purchased a tract of four-and-a-half acres, hitherto known as "Rosemont." The property lies just north of the University grounds and faces, on the west, the Soldiers' Home, from which it is divided by the Harewood Road. Its elevation, accessibility and healthfulness make it a delightful location for a house of studies, and the plans which Dr. Zahm is now preparing insure the comfort and convenience of his students. It is proposed to have the building ready for occupation in September, 1899.

THE BORGIAN MEXICAN MANUSCRIPT.

The University has lately received from its generous benefactor, M. the Duke de Loubat, a copy of the famous Mexican manuscript preserved in the Ethnographical Museum of the Propaganda at Rome. It is a Nahuatl Codex, containing a ritualistic text. The history of this manuscript is extremely interesting. It passed into the possession of the Congregation of the Propaganda in the latter part of the eighteenth century in its quality of heir to the famous Cardinal Stefano Borgia. This prince of the Church was well known for the interest which he took in historical and archæological studies, an interest which brought him into contact with the most famous scholars of his time. Among the treasures which he secured for his celebrated museum was this ancient pictograph codex, that has since then been the subject of much profound study and constitutes to-day the chief gem of the collections of the Propaganda. Owing to litigation between the family of Cardinal Borgia and the Propaganda, it happened that before the Napoleonic invasion this manuscript had been placed under seal by the officials of the Congregation. Thus it escaped the fate of so many Roman manuscript treasures and archives which the conqueror caused to be transported to Paris. Considerable mystery reigns over the manner in which this manuscript first reached the hands of Cardinal Borgia. According to one story, attributed to the Mexican Jesuit Fábrega, the manuscript was originally a gift of the King of Portugal to Clement VII, who transmitted it to Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, from whom through other cardinals it eventually passed to the ownership of Cardinal Borgia. Another tradition is to the effect that it was saved in 1762 by an alumnus of the Propaganda from a sort of bonfire which the Archbishop of Mexico caused to be lighted for the destruction of objects of superstition and idolatry. It is hardly to be believed, however, that at such a late date any Mexican archbishop would pursue with fanaticism the venerable relics of his country's antiquity, all the more so as at this period such objects were sought for with great care and highly treasured. For the rest Dr. Icazbalceta has shown that there has been great exaggeration in

the charge of fanatical destruction of the ancient manuscripts of Mexico made against its first bishops and missionaries.[1]

The manuscript is written on Mexican deerskin, some ten meters long by twenty-seven centimeters wide. There are fourteen pieces of skin of various lengths glued together and covered with a thin coating of white mucilage for the easier execution of the numerous figures and groups. The manuscript is folded in thirty-seven pleats, and when closed forms a book twenty-seven centimeters high by twenty-six and one-half broad. It is covered with pictographs on both sides, and is bound in wooden covers that seem to have been added at a date later than the execution of the manuscript itself. It bears, moreover, some slight indications of having been saved from a conflagration.

Naturally one recalls that other beautiful Mexican manuscript which is preserved at the Vatican. It is more perfect than the Borgian, and has preserved its original binding. On the other hand, the Borgian is much larger than its Vatican sister, and is much superior to it in the abundance of its hieroglyphic figures and groups. In this respect it surpasses not only the Vatican manuscript, but also all those of Mexico, Madrid, Paris, Oxford, Liverpool, Dresden, Vienna and Bologna. This manuscript, which had already served the purpose of Humboldt during his stay at Rome, was first published by Lord Kingsborough in his "Antiquities of Mexico." (London, 1831–48, 9 vols. gr. fol.)

The present absolutely perpect *fac-simile* has been secured by means of photo-chromography, a photo mechanical process through which the colors and outlines of these complicated pictographs are presented with the most wonderful vividness and accuracy.

The University is conscious of the deep debt of gratitude that it owes M. Duke de Loubat for this fresh evidence of his good-will and esteem. We possess already, through his beneficence, the *fac-simile* of the splendid Vatican Mexican manuscript. It is to be hoped that future scholars at the University will be able to contribute their share toward the decipherment of these strange parchments in which there must lie hidden a world of information concerning the religion, manners, and literature of the ancient peoples of Mexico and Central America.

[1] *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, 1887, t, XXI.

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